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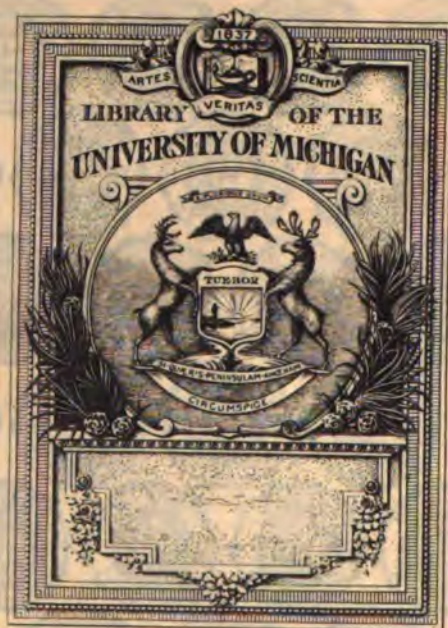
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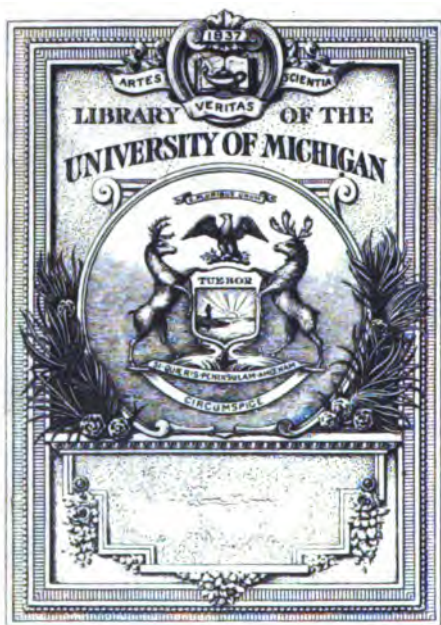












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**International Legislation**

**Health Service for Children in Industry**

**More About Pinkie, the Little Cotton-Picker**

**Mental Effects of Child Labor**

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## THE WORLD DO MOVE—AND SO MUST WE!

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In the days before Madame Curie discovered radium, before Ben Franklin flew his kite, even before Newton saw the apple fall, there undoubtedly were strange people on earth who believed that what they knew was the sum of all wisdom for all time.

Today we are talking of Einstein and the fourth dimension, yet tomorrow the fourth dimension may be as commonplace as Newton's apple is now. The thoughts and achievements of the present are never ultimate.

The world has always moved, and in so doing has set us a good example. We must keep on moving. The important question today is not where we are, although it is necessary enough to take our bearings, but whether we are moving ahead, marching on.

The race is perhaps a hundred thousand years old and civilized man twenty-five thousand, but, as Payne points out, a humanitarianism large enough to have any real concern in any organized fashion for the protection of children is scarcely fifty years old. In America, the organized movement for child labor reform came into existence little more than a decade and a half ago.

There has been progress since then. There has been achievement. But not yet have we exhausted the possibilities of knowing the needs of children or the conditions which surround them in our America, or of establishing the protection and developmental opportunity which our present knowledge of these needs and conditions commands.

The thing we are working at is not static; we cannot chalk off so many feet gained in a certain length of time toward a definite objective. Not what we now know, not what we have accomplished up to the present moment, is half so significant as whether and how fast we are moving ahead.

Let us see what this test comes to, applied to two of the states of the American Union. The first, proud of its history and traditions, was among the early states to offer protection to working children. But this state, too sure or too satisfied, has lately almost ceased to move. It is moving so slowly that, in the course of a few years, it may give the effect of going backward.



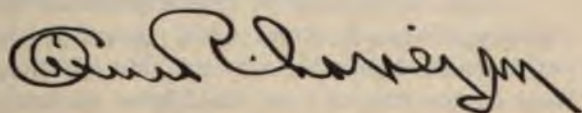
Another state, quite as proud of its history and traditions, seemed hopelessly backward in such matters as child protection and education, and was politely but self-righteously twitted on its backwardness by the more progressive state. But about five years ago something happened to this second state, and it awoke. Since then it has been learning something about its children and doing something for them all the time. It is moving straight ahead. It is moving so fast and with such determination that before long it may pass the first state on the road and not even glance back.

Which is the better state to live in? To which would you pin your faith?

With individuals, as with states, this is true; it is motion that counts. There are people who started twenty years ago with a determination to get children under fourteen years of age out of cotton mills. They have done it—and believing the problem is solved have sat down to rest. They are the people who say, “Why, I thought child labor was over!”

But there are others who, though some of them may have started a little later, are still going ahead. They study children, they study our civilization. They even speculate on the possibility of a better humanity than has yet been achieved. They are marching bravely along the highway of child development. They form the procession of progress, but they are sometimes hindered by those who sit down in the middle of the road to rest, or embarrassed by the applauding throngs on the side-walks. For there are not only those who rest, there are those who applaud but do not march. They are very enthusiastic, but when the tail of the procession has passed their corner, the thrill is over and they turn to other benevolent entertainment.

Yes, it is motion that counts. Until we are sure that we can see the end—even if we could see the end—the thing we must do is to move on. We must take our bearings once in a while to keep us on the road, but we must not be fooled by achieving corners or passing guide-posts. For the end of the journey is not part way.





# NEWS FROM THE CHILD WELFARE FIELD

## **Sixteenth National Conference on Child Labor**

"Fair Play for the Country Child" will be the general topic of the Sixteenth National Conference on Child Labor, at Milwaukee, Wisconsin, on the afternoon of Friday, June 24, 1921. This meeting, like that of last year at New Orleans, will be held in conjunction with the National Conference of Social Work, and will be limited to one session only. Representatives of the National Child Labor Committee will participate in the program of the National Conference of Social Work.

An unusually interesting and valuable program has been prepared for the Child Labor Conference. The child in the country has been overlooked, or at least neglected, in the thoughts and plans of social workers generally, but is now coming into his due share of consideration—a share that is to be equal with that of the city child. So far as the rural child laborer is concerned, he has had a great deal of consideration from the National Child Labor Committee, but for many rather obvious reasons less has been accomplished in his behalf than in behalf of the urban child laborer. The Committee has not yet finished its task of securing adequate protection for the latter, but feels that the time has come for rousing the country to realization of the existence of the child labor evil in forms and places other than urban. It has been engaged for some time in studying the rural situation and its agents will have some enlightening and startling facts to present at the Milwaukee meeting. Rural child labor was discovered in comparatively recent years, and for a long time remained an unexplored territory, but at Milwaukee it will be shown that there is more child labor in the country than in the city, and that some of it is just as bad.

Charles E. Gibbons of the Committee's staff will answer the question, "What is Rural Child Labor, Anyhow?" No one is better qualified than he to answer that question, and when he tells what he has seen of rural child labor in many states, he will be

able to picture at the same time its social and economic background. He will be followed on the program by E. C. Lindeman, Professor of Sociology in the North Carolina College for Women, and Field Secretary of the American Country Life Association. Professor Lindeman is one of the leading authorities on the present and future of rural recreation, and will tell concretely what relation play and recreation bear to the nature and needs of country children, and how importantly they underlie any practicable scheme of child labor reform in the country places. Miss Sara A. Brown, who has lately been studying child dependency in Tennessee and West Virginia, will come in from her field investigations with true tales of "Neglected Children of Appalachia." Miss Brown has travelled this region by railroad, automobile and riverboat, on horseback, muleback and afoot, and she knows the families of whose conditions she will speak and knows their own problems from their own viewpoints. The program will close with an address on "The Promise of Rural Life," by Dr. Felix Adler, Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee and Professor of Ethics in Columbia University. Dr. Adler is one of those strong and stimulating speakers whom it is a misfortune not to hear when opportunity is offered.

It is hoped that a great many members of the National Child Labor Committee will come to Milwaukee for the Sixteenth Conference, and that they will bring their friends. This meeting will serve as the first public presentation, based on comprehensive field investigations, of the rural child labor problem as a whole. It is bound to mark an important date in the history of the child labor movement. Those who attend this Child Labor Conference will have opportunity, while in Milwaukee, to attend also the sessions of the National Conference of Social Work and of various affiliated bodies. For information as to the meetings of the National Conference of Social Work, see a News Note elsewhere in this issue. Special railroad rates to Milwaukee and return have been arranged for members of the Conference.

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### National Conference of Social Work

For almost a generation and a half, the annual meetings of the National Conference of Social Work have occupied a unique and distinctive place in the life of this country. At these conferences

there have gathered the most representative bodies of men and women in the United States who are interested in problems of human welfare. Leaders in every field of thought and activity in the entire field of social work come to these annual meetings and give the results of their thought and experiences throughout the year.

This conference, lasting for a week, offers to all those in attendance an opportunity not only to hear directly from those who have been doing worth-while things but also to meet with them for purposes of advice and consultation. It is an occasion which offers the widest opportunities for stimulating contact with the largest number of thinkers and workers gathered together at any one time and place in the course of the year.

This year the Conference is particularly fortunate in going to Milwaukee in the last week of June; fortunate not only because Milwaukee offers to her visitors at that season of the year an almost perfect climate, but also because she possesses the physical facilities to handle a conference such as this, with its seven great general sessions and its fifty or more section meetings. In addition to the meetings of the Conference itself, there will be a group of fifteen or more kindred organizations holding meetings during the Conference week or immediately prior thereto. By a ruling of the Executive Committee of the Conference, all afternoons of the Conference week will be wholly given over to meetings of kindred groups, thus enabling those who are primarily interested in some specific form of social activity to come directly into contact in the afternoons with others primarily interested in the same work, while in the mornings and at night they may enjoy the sessions of the Conference, which, because of its scope, covers all fields of social work.

An exceptionally interesting and well coordinated program has been prepared for the meetings of the Conference, and a number of the ablest thinkers and most successful workers in the country have been secured to present their work before these different meetings.

The Proceedings of the Conference will, of course, be printed and will contain all of the papers presented before both the general and divisional meetings, but no mere volume of Proceedings, however carefully prepared and edited, can carry with it the value which is inherent in coming into close personal contact with men and women who are the acknowledged leaders in their various lines of



activity. It is in this respect that the annual meeting offers one of the most valuable contributions to any social worker or anyone else who is interested in human helpfulness. The Conference week is a time for the making of new acquaintances, the renewal of old friendships, and for that mental and social stimulation which comes from contact with those of like mind.

The railroads have cooperated in making this meeting in Milwaukee successful so far as attendance is concerned by granting reduced rates. The round-trip fare will be equivalent to one and one-half times the single rate from all points in the United States except points within the boundaries of New England. For all delegates from New England who contemplate attending the Conference, it will be possible to secure reduced rates from the nearest point outside of the New England states, and in buying transportation from points within New England, it will be possible, unless special excursion rates to Milwaukee shall be granted regardless of the meeting of the Conference, to purchase tickets to the nearest large town outside the limits of New England and from there to Milwaukee, thus availing themselves of the reduced rates which are offered by every passenger association with the exception of the New England.

Further information as to program can be obtained by addressing W. H. Parker, general secretary, 25 East Ninth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

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### **Endorsement by National Information Bureau**

The name of the National Child Labor Committee is included in the list of national and interstate organizations engaged in social, civic and philanthropic work, approved by the National Information Bureau, Inc., as worthy of the support of those interested in their aims and purposes.

In determining the endorsement of any organization the National Information Bureau gives careful consideration to compliance with the following standards, which have been adopted by the Board of Directors as the minima to be desired in the administration of social agencies asking voluntary contributions for the support of their work.

1. An active and responsible governing body holding regular meetings, or other satisfactory form of administrative control.
2. A legitimate purpose with no avoidable duplication of the work of another efficiently managed organization.
3. Reasonable efficiency in conduct of work, management of institutions, etc., and reasonable adequacy of equipment for such work, both material and personal.
4. No solicitors on commission or other commission methods of raising money.
5. Non-use of the "remit or return" method of raising money by the sale of merchandise or tickets.
6. No entertainments for money raising purposes, the expenses of which exceed 30 per cent. of the gross proceeds.
7. Ethical methods of publicity, promotion and solicitation of funds.
8. Agreement to consult and cooperate with the proper social agencies in local communities with reference to local programs and budgets.
9. Complete annual audited accounts prepared by a certified public accountant or trust company showing receipts and disbursements classified, and itemized in detail. New organizations which cannot furnish such statement should submit a certified public accountant's statement that such a financial system has been established as will make the required financial accounting possible at close of prescribed period.
10. Itemized and classified annual budget estimate.

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### **Plans of National Child Health Council**

Progress towards the selection of a community for the proposed Child Health Demonstration is reported by the National Child Health Council as we go to press. Sixty-seven communities have applied to be chosen for this purpose. Applications have been received from every section of the country including such far western states as California and New Mexico, such eastern states as Maine and Vermont, such southern states as Georgia and Texas, and such northern states as Wisconsin and Michigan. Ten of these communities have been judged by the Council as eligible for final con-

sideration. As to sixteen others, the Council feels that it will be necessary to have further evidence before deciding whether they will be eligible for final consideration or not. These two groups of cities, making 26 communities in all, are located in Connecticut, Michigan, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania and Wisconsin. Twenty-nine cities have been eliminated entirely from consideration, most of them because they are located in states where the birth registration is not yet sufficiently complete for the Federal Census authorities to classify them as in "the birth registration area." Such states include Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Mississippi, Missouri, New Jersey, New Mexico and Texas.

Most of the applications from communities were received from Chambers of Commerce, health officers or welfare organizations, following the announcement of preliminary plans for the Child Health Demonstration. In reply to each application, the community has received from the Washington office of the Council, a list of questions concerning community conditions and resources. The answers to these questions are now being prepared and will furnish information to assist the Council in reaching its final determination. The most important question included in the list of questions sent to communities is, "What evidence is there of a hearty and fairly general desire on the part of your community to have the Demonstration tried there?" Several communities have employed unique methods of showing that such a general desire exists. In one city, seventy citizens each sent a cordial telegram requesting the Demonstration for their community. Another city submitted a large, loose-leaf book containing endorsements of all city and county officials and of all local organizations. A petition has been submitted by one community signed by over eleven hundred mothers, each stating the number of children in their family, ranging from one to thirteen. An essay contest is being conducted in the schools of one city on the subject of "Why We Want the Demonstration in Our Town." The prize essay, and many of the others, will be sent to the National Child Health Council. Where petitions are being circulated, slides have been shown in the movies advertising what the petition is for, and urging all to sign it. In one community, special days were set aside to arouse popular enthusiasm for this purpose. Child health literature was distributed and banners were displayed bearing such slogans as "Make (name of town) The



Health Town." School children and the school nurse have assembled and been photographed in front of one of the school buildings with placards prepared by the children expressing their desire to have the Demonstration in their city. Many cities have offered to send delegations to present their cases to the Council or have invited the Council to visit them as guests of the city. One town is planning a "community dinner" and has invited representatives of the National Child Health Council to attend. Governors, State Health Commissioners and other state officials have written cordial letters inviting the Council to hold the Demonstration in their states and promising the utmost cooperation.

The committee which will recommend the town to be chosen for the experiment, consists of Dr. Richard A. Bolt, of Baltimore, general director of the American Child Hygiene Association; Miss Ella Phillips Crandall, of New York, formerly director of the National Organization for Public Health Nursing; Dr. Charles J. Hatfield, New York, director, National Tuberculosis Association; Owen R. Lovejoy, New York, general secretary, National Child Labor Committee; Miss Sally Lucas Jean, of New York, director, Child Health Organization; Dr. Haven Emerson, former health commissioner of New York, and Dr. Donald B. Armstrong, Framingham, Mass.

The direction of this novel health experiment will be under Clarence King, who is widely known in the field of research and the administration of health and social work. He holds degrees from the University of Wisconsin and Columbia University. Member societies of the National Child Health Council are: The American Child Hygiene Association, American Red Cross, Child Health Organization of America, National Child Labor Committee, National Organization for Public Health Nursing, and the National Tuberculosis Association.

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### **National Council of Rural Agencies**

Many social agencies have shifted their emphasis during the past ten years. With one or two significant exceptions, there was very little organized social work promoted in rural communities before that time. What was done was largely incident to the work

of governmental agencies. But the rural field has now been discovered; the next ten years will undoubtedly witness a rapid expansion of personnel and program of most of our prominent social agencies in rural territory.

A number of the national agencies interested in rural social work met at New York City in March, 1920, and requested the American Country Life Association to form a national council or clearing house for rural programs and agencies. The Association subsequently called a meeting at Washington, D. C., in December of the same year and proceeded to the organization of the council. One meeting has been held since the organization was formed.

There are now twenty-four national agencies (including the National Child Labor Committee) definitely affiliated with the National Council and five others that are considering affiliation. The basis of affiliation is explained in the following by-laws of the Council:

1. The Council shall consist of national public or private organizations and agencies engaged in rural social work, represented by one voting delegate and not to exceed two additional non-voting delegates chosen by each such organization or agency.
2. The purposes of the Council shall be to enable the associating agencies to discuss their programs and policies with other agencies of the Council; to prevent overlapping and duplication of rural social work; to enable the associating agencies to coordinate their programs and to act jointly in investigating and promoting needed rural social work.
3. The Council shall have advisory functions only. Its actions shall not be binding upon the participating organizations and agencies; nor shall any agency in the Council be bound to assume any financial obligations.

The Council has two projects under way; one is the application of principles of coordination arrived at in Washington, D. C., on March 29, 1921, in regard to agencies promoting recreation, and the other is a bulletin containing a simplified and condensed country life program for the United States together with the programs of work of the various agencies affiliated with the Council.

President Kenyon L. Butterfield of Amherst, Mass., is Chairman of the Council and E. C. Lindeman of Greensboro, N. C., is Secretary. It is hoped that a number of national agencies promoting rural recreation will now make an attempt to put the principles of the Council in operation in some state or local field.



### **Back Again to Old Kentucky**

The National Child Labor Committee has been asked to bring up to date its survey of child welfare in Kentucky made two years ago. This work will be done for the Kentucky Children's Code Commission, the creation of which followed the recommendation of the Committee. The officers and members of the Commission are as follows: Miss Frances Ingram, chairman, 428 South First Street, Louisville; Elwood Street, secretary, 652 South Fourth Street, Louisville; Mrs. Stanley Reed, Maysville; Mrs. Charles B. Semple, Louisville; Prof. John F. Smith, Berea.

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### **Kentucky Street Trades Law**

For a number of years we have pointed with pride to Kentucky as the only state with a 14-year age limit for all street trading, but now our pride has had its fall! The Judge of the Kenton County Court has held that this street trades law is "class legislation," and as such is unconstitutional; it is class legislation, he believes, because it applies to cities of the first, second and third class only. The decision is said to apply to the hours restrictions as well as the age limit. (The case was of a boy under 14 forbidden to sell papers after school under the law.) But the Judge himself has pointed out that if a boy sells after dark he may be taken up as a delinquent under another law. The decision suspends the streets trades law in Kenton County but does not affect the rest of the state, nor the rest of the child labor law. An appeal to the Circuit Court resulted in sustaining the County Court's decision, but the case is now being prepared for the Court of Appeals.

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### **Child Welfare in West Virginia**

The results of the study now being made by the National Child Labor Committee on rural conditions affecting child welfare in West Virginia will be available in printed form early next autumn. While the volume will be concerned primarily with the Mountain State, the discussions of findings, analyses of conditions, and consideration of causes will be of general interest inasmuch as they will relate to

rural problems found the country over. The field work by specialists on the National Committee's staff has been under way since last October. The report when published will contain chapters on rural economic life as it bears upon children and their opportunities for development, rural school attendance, child labor on farms, recreation, dependency and delinquency, the taxation system in its relation to child welfare, state laws applying to rural children, and the personnel and procedure of rural courts dealing with children.

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### **New Legislation**

There are a few bright spots in the legislative sky. Delaware has, perhaps, the best record. There the Code Commission, in the preparation of whose report this Committee had a share, secured the passage of a bill providing \$60,000 annually appropriated, for the creation of a permanent Child Welfare Commission; the repeal of the "binding" law; revision of the marriage law; amendment of the bastardy law, as well as a number of other bills relating to birth certificates, birth registration, health provisions, and improvements in the commitment clauses of the juvenile court law. In Missouri the Code Commission's bill revising the employment certificate law was passed by both Houses. New Mexico, has for the first time, passed a real child labor law, prohibiting the employment of children under 14 in mines, theatres, concert halls, hotels, manufacturing establishments, factories, workshops, or as messengers or drivers, and providing an 8-hour day and no night work for children under 16 in these occupations. Minnesota has created a Labor Commission in place of the old single-headed Department of Labor, which is hailed by organized labor as a great step in advance. North Carolina has retained her Public Welfare Commission, which was threatened, and has created a state department of physical education with a state director and an appropriation of \$15,000. North Dakota has created a Children's Code Commission, but unfortunately the appropriation for it was cut from \$5,000 to \$2,500. Texas has provided for an Industrial Commission. And in West Virginia a bill which the National Child Labor Committee sponsored, to create a Children's Code Commission, has passed the legislature and been signed by the Governor.

### **New Code Commissions**

1921 should see at least three more Southern states added to the list of Code Commissions. Governor Davis of Virginia has appointed a commission of nine "to bring Virginia's laws relating to children uptodate," with C. H. Morrisette, of the State Legislative Reference Bureau, as secretary. The other members are Justice J. Hoge Ricks, of the Juvenile and Domestic Relations Court, chairman, and John W. Stephenson, member of the Assembly from Warren Springs, William W. Dey of the Norfolk Juvenile Court, Dr. Lawrence Royster of Norfolk, Mrs. Louis Brownlow, chairman of the child welfare committee of the Petersburg League of Woman Voters, Mrs. W. W. King, executive secretary of the Staunton Community Welfare League, Miss Nora Houston, legislative chairman of the Virginia League of Women Voters, and Dr. Mary Brydon of the State Board of Health.

West Virginia's legislature has provided for the appointment of a Code Commission.

In Georgia the Council of Social Agencies has for some time been working toward the formation of a Code Commission, and at its last meeting, in March, empowered the president, Cator Woolford, to appoint a state committee to work for a bill to create a Children's Code Commission at the coming session of the legislature. In this action the Council of Social Agencies has the support of both the Georgia Federation of Woman's Clubs and the state Parent-Teachers' Association.

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### **The British Education Act**

Does the postponement of the enforcement of the Fisher Act of 1918 mean that the Act is dead? Has England repented of the war seriousness that led her to pass that Act? That is what many of us in America have been wondering, but Professor John Adams' article in the *Contemporary Review* for February on "The Present Educational Position" goes a long way toward answering our queries. He says:

"When the estimates began to come in, showing the probable cost of applying the Act, the tendency to delay became more marked. The Education Authorities were found to sort

themselves out into two classes. In the words of Select Committee on National Expenditure, one group 'have been described as laggard authorities,' while the other group 'have been described as progressive authorities.' In actual numbers the laggards formed the majority, and began to regard the Act as unworkable, at any rate in its entirety. Everything was held in abeyance. Into this realm of hesitating timidity fell the not altogether unwelcome bomb of the Governmental prohibition to enter upon any new development of administrative reforms that might involve additional expenditure of public money. This edict naturally affected all State departments, but nowhere was its effect so dramatic as in the case of education, for there we have an almost revolutionary Act suddenly swept from the realm of practical politics. The official abrogation of January 1, 1921, as the Appointed Day merely rendered explicit what was implicit in the general prohibition. . . . As things have turned out, the Act remains intact. The worst that has happened has been a postponement of its complete application. There has been no surrender of principle. The decisions of 1918 have not been reversed. The spirit of 1921 is the same as that of 1918—with the difference that always marks off the paying period from the buying period; for the presentation of the bill is never without its effect on the spirits. The nation as a whole still desires the benefits it sought in passing the Act, but now it realizes more clearly than it did then the difficulty of raising the necessary funds. Even in the midst of our financial depression there is no popular outcry against the Act in itself. . . .

"Meanwhile, the Act has not been without its bit of luck. While the country as a whole has stood appalled at the money demands for education, certain authorities have taken the matter seriously, and made provision for giving effect to the Act. *Notably the most important Education Authority in the country took it for granted that the Appointed Day was a reality and made very definite arrangements for day Continuation Schools*, which were so far advanced when the prohibition came that they could be honestly regarded as complete, and, therefore, not subject to the ban on any *new* development involving financial outlay. . . . It cannot be denied that the *London Authority* fully realizes the magnitude of the work it has undertaken, and it is evident that the progressives throughout the country are well pleased that this start has been made just before the closure was applied. Since 82 per cent of the young persons liable to compulsory continuation education actually turned up at the opening of the new schools at the beginning of January, it looks as if we are likely to have a demonstration of the sat-



isfactory working of one of the most important provisions of the Act. It is true that success in London may not conclusively prove general applicability, but it will certainly be an encouraging precedent. The London scheme is, therefore, regarded by both sides as a sort of test case, an experimental process. The reactionaries hope that its failure will demonstrate the unwisdom of the whole system, while the progressives naturally look to London to bring out all that is best in the Act."

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### **The Laggardness of School Reform**

It is astonishing how Pedagogy sticks to its old ways of doing things while giving lip-service to ideas and principles completely at variance with the practice. Some of the most rigid traditionalists in the field of education are administrators or normal-school teachers who cannot praise too highly the works of John Dewey! The schools of America have lately been celebrating the birthday of Johann Amos Comenius. Four centuries ago, Comenius was giving utterance to truths which to us still seem strangely new. Such as:

"To instruct the young is not to beat into them by repetition a mass of words, phrases, sentences, and opinions gathered out of authors; but it is to open their understanding through things."

"We must offer to the young, not the shadows of things, but the things themselves, which impress the senses and the imagination. Instruction should commence with a real observation of things and not with a verbal description of them."

Of course there are numerous ways in which our present methods of education are wrong. Their improvement cannot be left wholly to the professional educator. What says Comenius? "For though a man may be naturally unsuited to be a schoolmaster, or may be fully engaged by his duties as a clergyman, a politician, or a physician, he makes a great mistake if he thinks he is on that account exempt from the common task of school reform."

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### **Where Do Your Taxes Go?**

While Secretary Mellon is discussing the \$4,000,000,000 appropriation for 1921, the Bureau of Standards is telling us where our last year's taxes went, and Commissioner of Education Claxton is

proving that we spend more on luxuries in a single year in the United States than we do in 300 years on education. Out of the total appropriation of over five billion dollars last year, 92.8 per cent went toward war expenses, past and present, 3 per cent to public works, 3.2 per cent to "primary governmental functions," and 1 per cent to education, research and development. "The total budget," says Dr. Edmund B. Rosa, "is about fifty dollars per year per capita, of which *fifty cents* per year per capita is expended for the wide range of research, education and developmental work." And of this fifty cents per capita just 13.5 per cent is devoted to Education, 7.1 per cent to Public Health, and 1.1 per cent to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the Children's and the Women's Bureaus. Dr. Rosa goes on to say: "Whereas cities spend an average of \$6 per year per capita for education, and the states and private agencies about \$3 a year per capita, *the federal government spends only 6 cents per capita per year, including sums expended in vocational education and assistance granted to colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts.*"

Dr. Claxton elaborates this theme by comparing expenditures for luxuries and for schools. The latest complete school figures are for 1918, when the grand total spent in the whole United States was \$919,729,258. For 1920 the amount was probably about one billion, but for the same period we spent \$22,700,000,000 for luxuries, according to the federal tax returns,—twenty times as much for luxuries as for school, and more for luxuries "than we have spent in America for education in all the 300 years there have been schools on this continent. A saving of five percent on our annual bill for face powder, furs, soft drinks, cigarettes, cigar and chewing gum and a few other things would make it possible to double the expenditure for education in the United States."

That is, we can afford better schools, but we are not getting them. And schools are only a small part of the problem. Compare the prodigious amount we spend on luxuries with the tiny appropriation we grant to the Children's and Women's Bureaus together—\$320,140. Or compare this appropriation, remembering that the Children's Bureau is the only federal agency interested solely in the welfare of our children, with the \$5,000,000 given to the Bureau of Animal Industry. Is it wise to give three cents to the protection of women and children, and fifty cents to the pro-

tection of animals? Is it wise to spend \$92 a year on war debts and preparations, and only one dollar a year on schools, scientific research, and the development of natural resources? Is this the way we want our money spent, or not?

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### **Who Will Help? They Want This Magazine**

We have many calls for *THE AMERICAN CHILD* from people who are not members of the National Child Labor Committee and who do not feel that they can afford to pay the regular subscription. A missionary in China thinks that the magazine would be of great help to her in her work as head of a school; a friend of hers in America has written to ask if we cannot send her *THE AMERICAN CHILD* free of charge. In the same mail we had a request from an American hospital. Who will contribute to a small fund out of which we can meet such demands as these?

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### **BREVITIES**

The Drama League will hold its second Institute in Chicago this summer, from the 15th to the 27th of August. The Institute last year was a tremendous success, giving instruction to pupils from eighteen different states, an evidence of a widespread interest in the drama and its various branches, that convinced the officers of the Drama League that the Institute filled an important need in our national life. The course this year will include Pageantry, Drama in the High School, Drama for Children, The Establishment and Operation of a Little Theatre, Dancing and Rhythm, Costuming and Make-Up, Puppets and Pantomime, Stage Craft, Drama in the Church and Sunday School, Drama Activities for Employees and kindred subjects.

"Children's Week" will be observed April 24th to May 1st throughout the country as a part of a continent-wide campaign to emphasize the religious education of children. Suggestions for programs may be obtained from the Children's Division of the International Sunday School Association, 5 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago. The National Child Labor Committee will gladly furnish literature dealing with the child labor evil.

A conference on co-ordination of national social work was held in Washington on April 14. There was a valuable exchange of views as to the possibilities in this direction. Brief reports were given of the form of organization and the activities of groups of agencies comprising the National Health Council, the National Council of Agencies Engaged in Rural Social Work, the National Council of Community Organization, and the National Child Health Council. A general committee was formed, headed by Raymond B. Fosdick. This committee is to consider plans of future procedure and to call another conference. The Washington conference was held on call of the National Information Bureau.

E. C. Lindeman, who has been elected to membership in the Board of Trustees of the National Child Labor Committee, is Professor of Sociology and Economics in the North Carolina College for Women and Field Secretary of the American Country Life Association. Professor Lindeman has had much experience in boys' and girls' club work and in the fields of recreation and community organization. His contribution to the counsels and achievements of the National Child Labor Committee is sure to be a large and valuable one.

The magazine "Modern Medicine" changes its name this month to "The Nation's Health." "The Nation's Health" will be devoted to the field of community health, with special reference to industrial and institutional health problems. The health of groups will be the central theme, whether the group be the workers in a plant, the students in schools or institutions, or the citizens of the community. The journal will be published in Chicago.

"The Smith," a civic pageant by Thomas Wood Stevens, was recently presented at the 25th anniversary of the Civic Club of Allegheny County by the School of Drama of the Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh. The words of the pageant were published in the "Survey" of March 5. They give a very decided impression of the social vision and dramatic power of the author. From all accounts the presentation of the pageant at Pittsburgh was excellently done.



Much interest attaches to the proposal of a Department of Public Welfare in the federal government. Undoubtedly a measure providing for the establishment of such a department, and according with the recommendations of President Harding to be made as a result of a study by General Sawyer, will be introduced in Congress. The Sterling-Towner bill providing for the establishment of a Department of Education and for federal aid in support of education in the states is still before the national legislature. So is the Sheppard-Towner bill for the protection of maternity and infancy.

To determine at what cost all of New York's 800,000 school children could be made physically fit and kept in good health, the City Department of Health has established an experimental health station in Public School 43, Manhattan. The three thousand pupils of this school are to be given the most efficient health care possible under the direction of Dr. S. Josephine Baker, head of the Bureau of Child Hygiene. In remedying all physical defects found, the bureau is to be assisted by the New York County Chapter of the Red Cross and the physical education, household economics, nursing and health departments of Columbia University. The experiment is expected to show the minimum amount of health supervision necessary to keep school children up to a one hundred per cent standard of health.

George A. Hall, Secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee, has recently made a study of the apprenticeship laws of New York State and the present apprenticeship situation in New York City. At the present time, he says, the only provisions regarding apprentices appearing in the New York laws are those found in the domestic relations law, the code of criminal procedure, and brief references in the labor law and in the penal law. As to the apprenticeship system, Mr. Hall finds that "very few plants in New York City maintain an apprenticeship system and the number of apprentices so trained represent a very small element in the total situation. It is apparent that the tendency towards specialization is against apprenticeship and that this, together with the higher immediate wage of the machine tender or operator, is responsible for the fact that the trade is recruited mainly through this latter channel."

## **The American Child**

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CHARLES E. GIBBONS                      WILEY H. SWIFT

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### *Address:*

**NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE**  
105 East 22nd Street - - New York City

## **Contributors to this Issue**

B. H. Crocheron, Elwood Mead, Dwight Sanderson, and J. R. Howard are prominent figures in the Rural Renaissance.

John F. Smith is professor of Social Sciences in Berea College Academy.

Mrs. Helen Dwight Fisher, Raymond G. Fuller, Dr. H. H. Mitchell, and Wiley H. Swift are members of the staff of the National Child Labor Committee.

## PENSIONS FOR MOTHERS OR AIDS FOR CHILDREN?

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WILEY H. SWIFT

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Every state mothers' pension act that I have examined is a misnomer. So far as my examination has gone, in every case the act purports to be one to make provision for grants of public funds to mothers, but is in reality an act for the benefit of the children of certain types of mothers.

I have no objection to paying pensions to mothers. In fact, I think, and hope, that the time will soon come when the state will make such grants as will insure that every mother has every opportunity to bear a strong child and to give it all necessary attention. If a soldier is to be paid for depopulating other countries, and given every opportunity for health and strength, mothers ought to be paid for populating our own and given every chance for both herself and her child. Lives here are quite as important as deaths elsewhere. I presume that mothers would no more ask for aid not needed than good soldiers would seek for grants, except when the circumstances make it necessary.

But grants of aid to mothers should not be confused with grants primarily for the benefit of children. They are different matters, and it is necessary that this be recognized.

If a grant of public funds is to be made for the benefit of any child in the state who is in need, it ought to be made for every child who is in need. In justice, no distinctions between children can be made. The state is under just as much obligation to see that the child of an unmarried mother has a home with some one to give it constant and proper care as the child of a widow or deserted mother. The one is as much a citizen as the other and with an equal chance will probably become just as valuable to the country.

When the grants of aid for the benefit of children are made as pensions to mothers they are almost certain to be hedged about with restrictions that will exclude some children, who are in need,

from participation. In making provision for children one and only one question should be asked—Is the child in need? No matter what the circumstances are, if the child is in need and there is no one to come to his relief, the state ought to press in to help him.

A grandmother might easily be the best person in the world to have the care of a grandchild, and yet she might not be financially able. She could get no help under a mother's pension act. A poor and not very strong father might be able to hold his family of motherless children together with only a little aid. Many fathers have done it. No aid could be given to him. He is a father, not a mother. For every reason, I believe that every mothers' pension act that I have read should be repealed, and in lieu of each an act to authorize grants of aid for the benefit of children should be enacted.

There are certain evils which have become evident in the administration of mothers' pension acts that should be guarded against:

1. In some states the use of the authority to grant relief is left optional with the county court. All laws should be general in application. The provision of public schools is not left to the discretion of a county court; neither should the matter of giving proper care to children be left to that sometimes unsympathetic and oftentimes penurious body. The care of a child is a state, not a county matter. It may have to become a national matter. The fiscal court should be required by law to levy a tax to provide proper care for its children just as it is required to levy a tax to pay the sheriff. In the end, it may be found that a state tax should be levied for this purpose. The percentage of possible cases to the property valuation will be found to be not as inconstant as one would imagine. The poor and unfortunate usually live under the back eaves of the homes of the prosperous.

2. The administration of the act should not be left to the county court. A county court is primarily interested in saving money, in keeping taxes down. The members will lose no sleep over the fact that some children are being neglected. They know almost nothing about such matters, having had no actual experience and but little opportunity for observation. Some of them are glad when people get close to the border line of want. It makes farm labor cheap. The idea of many of them is that the way to help



children in need is to give them some old clothes, a Christmas basket, perhaps, and a Sunday School. These are excellent things but he who thinks in this fashion is not fitted to administer aid for the benefit of children. The county court should provide the money and do no more. Sometimes, all too frequently, it happens that a member of a county court, especially when elected from a small district in the county, becomes greatly interested in the poor of his own community. If he happens to be a merchant, he sometimes gets just as many of them on the county as possible and then takes their vouchers as pay for goods sold at high prices. The mere fact of dealing with children does not change human nature; and, if county courts are to administer aid for the benefit of children, we may expect that same old sort of member to play the same old game in the same old way for his gain and to the everlasting loss of those most vitally concerned.

In the states where I have studied the problem, the administration of grants for the benefit of children should lie within the jurisdiction of the juvenile court. All investigations should be made by the agents of the court and the same officers should supervise the family during all the time that the grant is continued. This should be a part of the regular work of the juvenile court and its agents or officers. We do not take easily to the word "expert," but it is a fact that this sort of work must be done by some one who knows his business. Frequently no money or but little is needed. Sometimes it will not be wise to undertake to keep the family intact. There are a thousand different angles to every case. A county court will either grant or refuse to grant the aid. That is not enough. Every case must be studied and the proper solution worked out.

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It would be difficult to discover what proportion of human deficiencies and misery is of immediate biological origin and what arose out of societal inequalities. But it is necessary to remember that many of the ills of body and mind have their casual conditions in the illogical and inhuman strains and deprivations which the present social system imposes. Thus the dwarfed and enfeebled workers in many cases are the products of child labor, insufficient food, and unsanitary conditions of labor and of living. The portion of human misery such societal situations produce must be, on the whole, greater than that produced by biological causes operating immediately.—*John M. Gillette in "Sociology."*

## "AT WHAT AGE SHOULD CHILDREN ENTER INDUSTRY?"

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H. H. MITCHELL, M.D.

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Not long ago we questioned whether we should allow a child to risk the hazards of wage earning before he was fourteen years of age, and one reason urged for this fourteen-year age minimum was danger to the health of the immature child. Today, for the same reason, there is considerable opinion arrayed against allowing the fourteen- or fifteen-year-old child to go to work. A number of social workers experienced with this group of children have recommended that no child be allowed to go to work until sixteen years of age; public health workers of reputation have recommended a similar standard. From the standpoint of practical working under the present social order, this opinion can hardly be said to be unanimous; in fact, if a referendum could be taken, I question whether those favoring a sixteen-year minimum for every child under all conditions would be anywhere near a majority. Montana has a sixteen-year minimum law, but the exceptions permitted destroy its effectiveness. For such a law to be effective, its support unquestionably demands an extensive sympathetic public opinion. Of course a longer period of schooling, extending to 16 or 18 years of age, and freedom from any risks or hazards of too early employment, will give the child the benefit of any doubt, but such laws presuppose school opportunities adaptable to the individual abilities and needs of all the children, and opportunities for proper use of their leisure time. Is it advisable to pass laws ahead of the general public opinion, and in this case in advance of public educational opportunities? It is possible for some laws to so far exceed the ideals and sentiment of the people as to have no effect on social progress. On the other hand, some advanced laws, not enforced satisfactorily because of a lax public opinion, do have an educational effect by their presence upon the statute books.

However, in regard to raising the age minimum, our present laws and public administrative machinery do not in any state give all the protection to immature children that a state can and should give for the sake of social and racial welfare. We have recognized that the state should provide free education, and in a large number of states this has been extended to include physical education. A recent decision of the Supreme Court of Colorado states that, "It is undoubted that the School Board may provide for the physical as well as the mental education of the pupils." Within reasonable limitations the health needs of the child are recognized as the concern of the state. President Harding said in his first message to Congress: "Government's obligation affirmatively to encourage development of the highest and most efficient type of citizenship is modernly accepted, almost universally." Inasmuch as the state benefits the children of these ages through free schools, if they are able to avail themselves of this opportunity, it seems particularly important that the state give those children with a lesser opportunity the advantage of health service. Undoubtedly many children in this group are suffering from physical handicaps and remediable health defects as well as habits which will definitely result in injury, unhappiness, and suffering. It is not unlikely that many of the occupations of these working children provide an extra burden because of fatigue, strain of one sort or another, too great responsibility or other form of unsuitability to the child's powers.

Twenty-seven state legislatures have recognized through provisions in state laws that this tender age may at least require a physical examination to determine whether the employment is likely to injure health or impair physical development,—a precaution not provided for other age groups. Many states limit the occupations open to these children. This public recognition of a possible effect of occupation upon health at this age points the way to a larger provision for health protection and service to the fourteen- and fifteen-year-old wage-earner, if not immediate passage of a sixteen-year minimum; and in the light of the opposition to restrictive child labor laws, we may be assured that public opinion to a considerable degree recognizes a serious health hazard involved in wage earning before maturity. The fact that most laws requiring physical examinations are not satisfactorily effective probably expresses general ignorance of better public health practice rather than

a lack of recognition of the seriousness of the health hazard. The continuation school has in a limited degree answered the demand for longer schooling. It should likewise answer the demand for health protection, vocational guidance and training, and advice in personal hygiene for the young wage-earner.

The demand for further protection of the approximately 75,000 adolescent wage earners in New York State led an organization of employers called "The Associated Industries" to employ Mr Joseph P. Murphy, Chief Probation Officer, Buffalo, N Y., to make a survey in 1919 to answer the question, "At what age should children enter industry?" In regard to the health aspect of the problem, Mr. Murphy says:

"Although many studies have already been made of the problem from its objective or economic side, no scientific approach has yet been made on an extensive scale from the standpoint of the physical effects of industrial life upon children. And, in the final analysis, this phase of the problem will necessarily determine the question when and how children should begin their industrial careers."

It seems reasonable to question whether the physical effects of industrial life should altogether determine when and how children should begin their industrial careers. Education, vocational or otherwise, opportunity for suitable occupations as well as psychological aspects certainly have an important bearing upon the problem, if the welfare of the child is considered. However, *the need for a scientific approach from the standpoint of the physical effects of industrial life upon children is a very fair and just challenge.* No person can honestly avoid this question if he sincerely cares for the well-being of these children who represent such a large group of our future citizens. A scientific study of all the factors influencing the health of these children should be the first consideration. We have very little information at present upon the health problems of the adolescent, although practically all scientific writers recognize this period as a distinct crisis. The health needs of working children are understood more by analogy from those children who have been studied through health service in school or college than through study of the problems of the younger industrial and mercantile workers.



Such factors as mental equipment, habits relating to personal hygiene, home environment, housing, use of leisure, opportunity for play and wholesome recreation, and family income all have an important bearing upon the health of these children as well as the character of the occupation, nutrition, physical strength, ability to resist fatigue, physical handicaps, and any constitutional tendencies. To work out any correlation between these factors so that their relation to wage earning may be compared with their relation to school attendance is a difficult problem because of the variety of factors involved. We might be able to measure health and the effect which any particular factors have upon it where those effects are of sufficient degree to be expressed in the death rate, in the morbidity rate or in the rate of growth and development. Of course large and varied groups of children would help to average the effect of the numerous other factors operating. However, there are other effects upon the health of the child not so easily measured; many may pass unnoticed except under careful periodic, medical examinations. Some of these effects may be negligible until later in life. It would be very suggestive if we could measure the fatigue effects of a day in various industries upon a large group of children under fairly definite hygienic conditions and compare those with the fatigue effects upon a similar group of children of a day in school. Likewise, if we could compare the fatigue effects of one industry with those of another, we might obtain information of value for vocational guidance. The advocates of fatigue studies have suggested a number of methods for such a study as, for example, the use of Ryan's Vascular Skin Reaction Test, and Martin's Spring Balance Muscle Test, and a comparison of industrial curves of output of adolescent children with those of adults. Under-nourishment is now recognized as having a distinct effect upon health and this is often not noticed or appreciated. There may be a distinct relationship between the fatigue or strain incident to certain industrial processes and poor nutrition. Very closely related is the question whether the physiological and psychological changes incident to pubescence involve a peculiar nutrition problem. We could very well study these two questions together.

Inasmuch as the United States Bureau of Labor studies show markedly higher tuberculosis death rates among cotton-mill oper-

atives 15 to 19 years of age, as compared with non-operatives,\* we should expect that periodic, medical examinations would reveal an excess of tuberculosis morbidity for other industries where the health hazards are similar except for the humidity and lint in the air. The course of the cardiac cases which do not have supervision and vocational guidance may be expected to be unfavorable to the child. If our hospital and dispensary records could be collected for adolescent children, and accurate occupational data could be recorded, we should determine whether any particular industries predispose these children to diseases requiring hospital or dispensary treatment.

A clearer understanding of the health needs of this group such as would logically develop from a health service will help tremendously to decide this question of an age minimum for employment. To those opposed to a higher age we offer this method for getting at a sane and truthful basis for legislation—legislation founded upon scientifically established facts—not sentiment. To those now favoring the sixteen- or eighteen-year age minimum for all employment, we also offer an opportunity to prove their beliefs and to provide immediate relief to those suffering most from too early employment.

In the February issue of *THE AMERICAN CHILD* Edward N. Clopper defined child labor as "the employment of a child under eighteen years of age at any task, with or without pay, under direction or independently of others, which deprives him of his proper measure of schooling, training, recreation, and healthy development." If we do not want child labor, and if we are not going to exclude all persons under eighteen years from every kind of employment, we must determine upon some method of deciding what em-

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\* The study of cotton mill workers in Massachusetts by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics showed tuberculosis death rates as follows:

TUBERCULOSIS DEATH RATE PER 100,000 POPULATION

Sex and Age	Years (inclusive)	Operatives	Non-operatives
Boys, 15-19 years.....	1905 to 1907	160	93
	1908 to 1912	110	73
Girls, 15-19 years.....	1905 to 1907	223	110
	1908 to 1912	223	118

ployment, or under what conditions any employment, deprives a child of his proper measure of healthy development. It would seem that a physician expert in industrial hygiene as well as understanding children could best make this decision.

Any law which provides for health service in continuation schools for working children can hardly be said to be in advance of public opinion in the sense that a law excluding all children under sixteen years of age from any employment might be. Whether effective health protection would result from legislation would depend largely upon the provision for employing industrial physicians and establishing machinery for administration. Neither health departments nor school boards are making such provision now, because continuation schools are new and not fully developed.

In order to study the factors influencing the health of this group of children and to demonstrate the practicability of health service in the continuation school, a short study of about twelve hundred continuation school pupils is being conducted in Newark by the writer with the co-operation of the Department of Medical School Inspection. These children attend school three hours per week, and are engaged in a great variety of different industries in Newark during the remainder of the week. The study is expected to furnish us some comparison of the health status of children who have been at work for a year or more with their condition at the time of entrance into employment. From this data we shall obtain a view as to the need of periodic examinations. We shall study the occupations in which the children engage and attempt a correlation of occupations with such health factors as are noted by the examination. Such a study is necessarily preliminary to a more extensive demonstration of health protection and service for working children, and a clearer understanding of their needs.

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We have come to assume in a number of states that under certain conditions a fourteen-year-old child should be allowed to work; that failure to permit him to do so brings about an injustice to a family; and that a complete withdrawal of all of that kind of labor might have certain detrimental effects upon the industry and commerce of the community. That is not so. A community can adjust itself to the idea that the entire time of young people is needed for educating up to the age of sixteen exactly as easily as it has adjusted itself to the idea that fourteen is a proper standard.—*Charles E. Chadsey.*

# RURAL CHILD LABOR

## A SYMPOSIUM

Editor's Note.—Recent reports and articles published in the *AMERICAN CHILD* and dealing with rural child labor have attracted wide-spread attention. The subject has not yet been exhausted. Indeed, only a beginning, though a very important and rather extensive beginning, has been made in knowledge of conditions and in analysis of the many problems presented by the existence of rural child labor. In this number of the *AMERICAN CHILD* we are publishing contributions to the general subject from four leaders in rural life and thought—B. H. Crocheron, Director of Agricultural Extension, College of Agriculture, University of California; Elwood Mead, Chairman of the California Farm Land Settlement Board; Dwight Sanderson, Professor of Rural Organization in the New York State College of Agriculture; and President J. R. Howard of the American Farm Bureau Federation. In the following issue we shall print discussions by C. J. Galpin, author of "Rural Life," and Director of Farm Life Studies, United States Bureau of Agriculture; Professor E. C. Lindeman, Field Secretary of The American Country Life Association and a Trustee of the National Child Labor Committee; and others. No restriction has been placed on any of these writers as to the opinions he may express or the stand he may take in this symposium; a free and open discussion has, on the contrary, been invited.

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### I

B. H. CROCHERON

Professor and Director of Agricultural Extension in the University of California

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Cities have been slow in recognizing that manual experience is a necessary part of education, and that voluntary association with the manual processes is a desirable companion of mental education. Unfortunately cost of the educational undertakings in manual training have been artificially introduced. These are sometimes termed vocational education but usually fail to have a vocational impulse



or a vocational background. At best they are only a labored imitation of the real condition which it is hoped to achieve.

However, in agricultural life, under stabilized farm conditions and diversified crop production this manual impulse is largely provided by the surroundings of the family home. The boy and girl have "chores" to do and are benefited by the doing thereof. It has become recognized that they should be partners in the farm family. The boys' and girls' agricultural clubs have done much to bring this partnership into a real place in the family life. Last year in the northern and western states of America 216,479 boys and girls carried on their own farm enterprises in spare time when out of school and derived therefrom a personal profit of \$4,621,538 which went into their own pockets. Such an ideal home project can seldom be achieved in cities.

Wherever farming has been stabilized by proper farm management and has become permanent in its practices the conditions of children are usually far superior to those of even the better class in the cities. It is from this group of the rural population that our best citizens are recruited, for it is here that physical, social and moral conditions are at their maximum.

But normally in any new country farming passes through three stages. The first is one of exploitation, the second that of specialization, and the third and final is that of diversification. Under diversified farming the supply of machine, horse and man labor is more evenly balanced than in any other type, and thus produces no unusual seasonal strain upon the labor supply. In the earlier stages of agriculture, however, wherein single-crop farming is practiced, where boom conditions pertain and where agriculture is changing and fluctuating, the labor supply at certain stages is strained to the breaking point so that unusual stress is placed upon all members of the community in order to meet the demand. It is usually under such extreme conditions that child labor in agriculture reaches its unfortunate expression and the conditions of home and school life for children become so completely unsatisfactory as to warrant public interference. Migratory families move in under bonanza reports and upset the entire social structure. School facilities are inadequate, proper home conditions may be totally lacking. Recreational and moral surroundings are at low ebb. The family capital is usually small so that in the feverish anxiety

to achieve success it becomes necessary that children and all other members of the family demonstrate their asset as laborers in the accumulation of a family fortune. All else is sacrificed to the immediate end in view which is to "make a killing." Under such a type of farming it is usually beyond the purpose of the family to make a permanent home there. They hope to acquire a competency and then go elsewhere. It likewise becomes beyond the purpose of the community to provide for these itinerant and perhaps undesirable people the schools, homes and social surroundings that are needful for an American life. These people come and go. No special care or responsibility is felt toward them.

Under circumstances like these agriculture becomes alarming both to the economist and the sociologist. Well-worn paths of economic and social rectitude are abandoned. The entire financial and social organization is upset so that new conditions arise with which civilization in its present status is unable to cope.

The preventive for such conditions arises first, in the achievement of an economic place for agriculture whereby it may become stabilized. Under this head we may mention such measures as: (1) rural community land settlements under public or private finance whereby through long-time amortized payments, ready-made farms are settled and sold to approved settlers; (2) a system of long-time farm loans based upon the massed financial credit of the farmers unified through a cooperative association of neighborhood members; (3) a system of short-time farm loans to meet the peak in production through the extension of the present Federal Reserve system to meet such cases; (4) the extension of community credit to community enterprises such as drainage districts, irrigation districts, grain elevators, fruit-packing houses, etc.

Social measures are curatives rather than preventives. They are therefore secondary to the results that may be achieved through economic measures. These means may be expressed as (1) enforcement of the present school attendance laws and the raising of their standards throughout the backward states; (2) enforcement of child labor laws with special reference to single crop farming; (3) the restriction of labor immigration to those peoples who are capable of responding to American standards; (4) the creation by community enterprises of temporary school facilities to meet the temporary load of migratory labor; and (5) the stimulation by community

organization of the feeling of responsibility for and obligation toward the stranger within the gates.

The success of a democracy ultimately depends upon the individual intelligence and financial security of its citizens. A republic is successful in proportion to the ability of its members to live morally, think correctly and abide securely. Compulsory or regulatory measures indicate a failure in the democracy proportionate to the necessity for the exercise of such police functions.

It is regrettable that the majority of the measures proposed for the elimination of child labor aim at the exercise of regulatory measures rather than toward the creating of conditions which would make such measures unnecessary. The process which we have lately liked to call "Americanization" should primarily concern itself with the creation of opportunities for the maintenance of a normal family. In rural districts this condition is first of all dependent upon a financial competency.

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## II

### ELWOOD MEAD

Professor of Rural Institutions, University of California, and Chairman of the State Land Settlement Board

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Professor Mead gives us permission to quote a letter of his in which he says:

"My keenest interest in the rural child problem is in the children of farm laborers. The intermittent and migratory character of their work, the failure of land owners or anyone else to consider the home needs of these workers and make any provision for a comfortable and independent home life for farm laborers' families makes the lot of both the mother and children particularly hard. In too many instances the family and their father are separated. The wife and children have to live in town. The income is meager and uncertain and has to be pieced out by the mother's labor, and where the family remains united we have the conditions of the migratory laborer portrayed by Miss Duke.\*

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\* See "California the Golden," by Miss Emma Duke in the *AMERICAN CHILD* for February, 1921.

"The State Land Settlement Board of California is endeavoring to correct this by the creation of farm laborers' homes in all the state land settlements. Our two years' experience shows that the greatest social benefits of the state's land settlement policy come from the establishment of these homes. I am sending you under separate cover marked copies of two of our bulletins which give some illustrations of these homes and of the change in the scale of living and social status of the people who have secured them."

We quote also a few paragraphs from one of the bulletins to which Professor Mead refers:

"In the past nearly all the thinking, writing, and legislation regarding agriculture and rural development has dealt with the needs and interests of land owners. We have assumed that our agriculture was carried on by farm owners. Humanly speaking, this is far from correct. More than half of the families who live on the land and do the work of the farms are either tenants or farm laborers. They or their children ought to be the farm owners of the future. They ought to have the same economic independence and the same reason for confidence that they can become land owners that was felt by the farm laborer of the past when he could go west and homestead 160 acres or that is felt in Australia and New Zealand under their generous land settlement laws. The California Land Settlement Act, if extended, will bring about these results.

"The reports of the State Immigration and Housing Commission show why the American farm laborer is disappearing. He will not live in a bunk house. He will not stay on the land if he has to compete with Asiatics and he will not bring up his family where his wife and children have no social status. These things do not reflect on his industry or his character. On the contrary, they show the strength of economic democracy in the American soul.

"As the conditions of life for tenants and farm laborers have become harder, the conditions of wage earners in the city have become easier. Wages have risen, hours have become shorter. Everywhere more attention is given by the public to working conditions in city industries so naturally the American, not tied down to any occupation or mode of life, goes to cities.

"The California Act changes this. It closes the gulf which separates different classes of rural society and makes of rural neigh-



borhoods a real democracy. It does this by making every person, who lives in a community it creates, a land owner. The farms are small but large enough to give employment to the owner and his family. The farm laborer is enabled to buy enough land for a garden and to keep a cow and to grow nearly everything which goes on his own table. He is loaned money to build a comfortable house. His wife and children can live under the same conditions of comfort, independence, and social recognition as the wives and children of the farm owner."

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### III

#### DWIGHT SANDERSON

Professor of Rural Organization, New York State College of Agriculture,  
Cornell University

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The problem of preventing the exploitation of children in farm labor is essentially different from that of child labor in industry. Organized labor is strongly opposed to employment of children in factories, but farming has always been a family affair, and where the farm labor of children is excessive it is due to the indifference of parents and of local public opinion. It seems obvious that direct legislation against excessive farm labor of children is practically impossible of enforcement where it is most needed. The problem must, therefore, be met by indirect means.

The most promising method of attack seems to be that of securing compulsory school attendance, as forcefully advocated in previous editions of the *AMERICAN CHILD* by Mr. Lovejoy, Mr. Gibbons, and others.\* But here again a similar difficulty arises. Can compulsory school attendance be enforced or, if enforced, can the evils of child labor on the farm outside of school hours be prevented, where it is not demanded by the public sentiment of the majority of the people? However good the law and the machinery for its enforcement, but little real progress will be made if the peo-

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\* See "Legislative Prohibitions of Child Labor," by Owen R. Lovejoy in the *AMERICAN CHILD* for May, 1919; also "Child Labor and Rural Tenancy," by Charles E. Gibbons in the *AMERICAN CHILD* for February, 1921.

ple are opposed to it. The fundamental problem, therefore, is one of securing a greater interest by the parents in the value of education. The sections where compulsory school attendance is most needed are usually those where the schools are poorest. The parents are naturally indifferent to them, and the children not attracted to them. People do not want things they do not know about. If such people could realize the advantages of schools with well-trained, inspiring teachers, attractive buildings, a vitalized curriculum touching the life and work of the community, and with recreational and social activities which would make the school a real force in the life of the neighborhood, they would be keener for such advantages. Some of our leading denominations are doing much to stimulate better country churches by giving financial aid to demonstration churches in which well-trained pastors are employed and modern church equipment is provided. The influence of such churches radiates as people of nearby parishes come to know of their work and come to realize the possibilities of a real live church. The same thing has been done here and there with schools, but such demonstrations have been too few and too scattered to reach the people most needed. Provision should be made whereby in every county, with schools below a minimum standard, at least a half dozen such demonstration schools might be established and maintained long enough to show their value. Of course this would demand outside financial aid. The regions most needing such schools are the poorest and cannot be expected to tax themselves heavily for experiments. There seems no escape from the conclusion that more adequate support for education is a duty first of the State, and finally of the Federal Government. The problem is most acute in the South, where it is necessary to support separate schools for negroes, and where local taxes for education are already high. Federal aid for rural education as provided in the Smith-Towner bill, now before Congress, seems to be the only means whereby any general advance in the standards of rural education may be achieved, and its passing is fundamental to the solution of the problem of child labor on the farm.

The Boys and Girls Agricultural Club movement has had a very large influence toward bettering the condition of farm children, and it well illustrates the sort of forces which must be created to mold public opinion. When a child is permitted to grow a patch

of corn or garden, to can or preserve the garden products, to raise a pig, a calf, or some poultry, and to retain the price received for its products, a very definite recognition has been given the rights of the child. Not infrequently parents are unwilling to allow children the use of a piece of land, but when neighbors' children are given the privilege, and win prizes for their achievements, the pride of most parents compels them to give their children a chance. Otherwise they soon feel the criticisms of neighbors and usually capitulate. In the early days of club work a grasping father now and then pocketed the prize money of his boy or girl. But public opinion usually forced him to disgorge. Now, the parent is often requested to sign a card approving the membership of his child in the club and agreeing that any prizes won shall belong to the child. In many states banks loan money to boys and girls for the purchase of pure-bred pigs and calves, which loans are repaid when the animals are sold. My point is that through its interest in the achievement of boys and girls in these clubs the public opinion of the community has definitely placed its approval on giving the children the use of at least part of their own time to earn something for themselves, and has condemned parents who are unwilling to give them this privilege. This is a large gain. Many a parent has come to have a pride in the success of his boy or girl and has given them a chance previously unthought of. Club work alone will not solve the problem of child labor on the farm, but it has been a powerful influence against it and shows how indirect means may shape public opinion. The fact that not unfrequently boys and girls have overworked in order to win prizes is no indictment of the club work as a whole for this is generally discouraged by club leaders and the educational and character-building aspects of the work are increasingly emphasized. Incidentally the club work has had a very large influence in vitalizing the work of country schools and in bringing their teachers to see the sort of education that appeals to farm people.

That exploitation of child labor is worse in cotton and tobacco regions is due to the bad economic conditions and practices prevailing with the one-crop system, as Mr. Gibbons says. "The evidence strongly points to tenancy being maintained as it is in the one-crop areas simply because it is a paying proposition to land owners." Is it not the duty of the church to arouse the conscience

of its people on this matter? Most of these land owners are church members or attendants. The church is strong in the South and it certainly has as clear an obligation to correct the evils of an industry of its own people as to champion the rights of organized labor.

Before any marked progress in alleviating the evils of child labor on the farm can be secured, we must have some definite and scientific facts as to just what sort of, how much, and under what conditions, farm labor of children is injurious and how much farm work is beneficial. This needs careful investigation and should be undertaken with the active participation of leading organizations of farmers, such as the Grange, the Farm Bureau, the Farmers' Union, etc., for when these organizations convince themselves as to what standards are desirable they have the means of securing their adoption. Their interest will be certain if they take an active part in such investigations. The mere presentation of facts secured by other agencies, however well the work has been done will not insure an equal response. Farm organizations must present as solid a front against child exploitation on the farm as does organized labor against child labor in other industries before rural communities will insist that their children shall not be deprived of the opportunities of childhood because of over-work.

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#### IV

J. R. HOWARD

President, American Farm Bureau Federation

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The American farmer realizes that the welfare of the farm boys and girls is a fundamental aim of any program to improve the rural conditions. The Farm Bureau in its manifold activities, has the welfare of the boy and girl ever in view. Broadly speaking, the entire program of the Farm Bureau seeks to improve the farm child's life. Just at present the disastrous economic situation forces the American Farm Bureau Federation and State Federations to devote much of their energy in seeking a solution of the marketing problem, but in this the welfare of the child is not forgotten for it is fully realized



that not until the farmer is on the same sound economic basis that is enjoyed by the city business man, will the farm child receive the same opportunities that the city business man's child receives.

Specifically, the Farm Bureau has a large child welfare program. This program is developed by the County Farm Bureaus. In practically every County Farm Bureau in the United States boys' and girls' clubs have been, or are being, organized. Trained leaders are placed in charge of these clubs; such clubs as County Boys' and Girls' Pig Clubs and Calf Clubs are doing much to educate the farmers of the next generation in modern practices of agriculture. Such clubs give the boys and girls a new incentive and a new outlook on farming as a life's work. For the girls there are Poultry Clubs, Sewing Clubs, Cooking Clubs.

I only regret that the length of this article prohibits me from describing the great change that is being made in rural child life through the activities of these various boys and girls clubs.

In another way the Farm Bureau has been active this year in improving the rural child's problem. In many states, Farm Bureau Federations have, through their efforts, secured enactment of county unit bills whose purpose it is to give the farm child the same educational advantage that is enjoyed by the city child.

The farmer realizes that an essential to the solution of the problem of rural child labor is recognition of the existence of the evil by country people themselves. It is recognized by country people that this is their own problem. There are several ways in which the general movement for organization among farmers is helpful to the movement for child labor reform. Rural organization serves two purposes that are vital to the solution of the problems of rural child labor. The first is discussion. Rural child labor must be discussed by farmers as they discuss other matters of common concern. The second is active promotion of the common welfare. Rural organization stands both for thinking and for doing. The rural child labor problem calls for thought and then for action. The parallel is certainly suggestive.

Moreover, there is a distinct gain for child labor reform wherever farmers succeed in their organized effort to achieve or to increase economic prosperity, for the welfare of farm children depends largely on the economic condition of their parents. It depends also on standards and ideals of individual and community living, and where

these standards and ideals are high, the consideration given to children and to their health, play and schooling is greater than elsewhere—there is less child labor. Promotion of these ideals of rural life is part of the program of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

So far as child labor on the home farm is concerned, the remedy lies with the family and the community rather than with legislatures and prohibitory laws. There are rural children who are being worked beyond their physical strength, but this is a condition that can better be overcome by the education of parents and by community sentiment than by legislative provisions that could not be enforced through lack of adequate inspection, leaving out of the question the fact that legislation and inspection of this kind would strike the average farmer as an unwarranted invasion of his domestic rights. He would stand with the Englishman whose house, in proverbial phrase, is his castle.

But rural child labor is chiefly a matter of the deprivation which it involves. As for its apparent effects on physical growth and development—the explanation often is not so much actual overwork as lack of such compensatory and corrective activities as free play and well-directed recreation furnish. Appreciation of the many and varied values of play and recreation,—not only physical, but mental and spiritual values,—is rapidly gaining ground in the country places. With recognition of these values, and the establishment of opportunity to receive these values, child labor will have been dealt a real blow, for it consists partly in interference with a normal and abundant play life for children.

Child labor consists further in interference with schooling. There are other causes than farm work of the notoriously poor attendance of country children at school, but this is one of the most common. Country children not only are entitled to just as good schooling as city children, but they are entitled to just as much; and schooling pays in the country as well as in the city. The country child must not be penalized educationally for living in the country. On a platform of better schools and better school attendance, the Farm Bureau is dealing another blow at child labor, for child labor is known by its interference with education.

The farm offers unsurpassed opportunities for what the National Child Labor Committee calls "children's work," as distinguished from child labor. Children's work, as I believe the Committee

regards it, is work which is healthful and educational and leaves plenty of time and energy for school life and a normal play life. The opportunity for healthful work on the farm, with its variety of out-of-door occupations, is apparent. The opportunity for work which is educational is also very great. It is a fact which has often been commented upon that the home as an educational institution has declined everywhere in the world. Perhaps there is no source of promise for its restoration that is more hopeful than that to be found in the *home farm*. The educational value of farm work for children may also be enhanced by the public school through an improved curriculum which accords with the actual life of the country child. Through the school, with such a curriculum, an intelligent interest may be developed in the farms and the work of farmers. The Smith-Hughes courses are a step in this direction. Then there are the boys' and girls' agricultural clubs under the supervision and direction of the county agricultural and home demonstration agents. These serve to bring to farm children not only a richer social experience, but also a new interest in the work they do, and in farming as a business or profession. If we can establish in place of meaningless toil and drudgery, work that is really interesting to farm children, we shall have done much to abolish rural child labor. It need not always be work which children have not done before—for old tasks and duties can be clothed with new significance. It is this element of interest and significance that, from the educational standpoint and to a large extent from the hygienic standpoint, distinguishes children's work from child labor. Besides establishing children's work, we must also establish a proper proportion and relation among work, play and school in the actual lives of country children.

Particularly tragic is the lot of the country child chained hopelessly to the drudgery of the farm because the world does not pay the farmer-father enough for his products to enable him to give his boys and girls proper schooling and clothes and comfort and advantages. Look to the cotton fields of the South if you would see how the farmer's economic problem becomes transmitted into a nation's social problem. Child labor is absolutely essential to cotton production because it costs nothing. With southern farmers receiving 7 cents a pound for cotton which the Department of Agriculture states that it cost 33 cents to produce, of course he must tie cotton

sacks across the backs of his children rather than the school books which should be there. In the cotton districts the schools close when work in the cotton fields begins. It is an economic problem and nothing else.

The same thing applies to production of milk and butter, though in less degree, and on to the whole line of farm products. The children must work because their labor costs little or nothing. It is necessary to have cheap cost of production because the farmer receives so little for his stuff.

Give the farmer his just due economically and he will take care of the child labor problem on the farm. With economic justice he will furnish his boys and girls with every advantage and add to it the privilege of growing up in the country—where every child of right ought to be reared.

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#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

Readers will find the results of field studies of rural child labor in the following publications of the National Child Labor Committee:

"Children in Agriculture," by Mrs Ruth McIntire Dadourian; pamphlet, 5 cents.

"Children Who Go To Beets," by Theresa Wolfson; pamphlet, 15 cents.

"California the Golden," by Miss Emma Duke; pamphlet, 15 cents.

"Child Labor and Rural Tenancy," by Charles E. Gibbons; in *AMERICAN CHILD* for February, 1921, 50 cents.

Also chapters in "Child Welfare in North Carolina." "Child Welfare in Kentucky," "Child Welfare in Tennessee," and the forthcoming report on "Child Welfare in West Virginia."

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Play for grown people is recreation—the renewal of life. For children it is growth, the gaining of life. The problem of children's play therefore is the problem of whether they shall grow up at all, and full opportunity for children's play is the first thing democracy will provide when it shall have truly been established.—*Joseph Lee.*



# INTERNATIONAL REGULATION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOR

HELEN DWIGHT FISHER

The session of the International Labor Conference to be held in October of this year promises to be especially interesting since the agenda includes among other things the question of regulation of agricultural labor conditions, and the mere inclusion of the question has raised protest and discussion. The Swiss Federal Council wrote to the Governing Body of the International Labor office in January protesting against the question and saying:

"If in industry and the various other branches of national economy the hours of labor have been regulated by legislation, no measure of this kind has, within our knowledge, been taken until very recently for agriculture. This is not the result of chance. On the contrary, the causes for this abstention on the part of the legislator are to be found in the very character itself of agricultural labor. Nature dictates laws which govern work in agriculture, and in doing so she renders superfluous, if not dangerous, the intervention of man in this sphere."

The Swiss Peasant's Union has also protested:

"We are not entirely convinced that the authors of the Treaty of Peace had really the intention of regulating the conditions of agricultural labor. . . . A careful study of Articles 387 to 427 brings us to the conclusion that these international understandings do not apply to agricultural labor, and on this ground alone the submission of these questions to the Conference at Geneva should be renounced. . . . The fear that agricultural workers would proceed to the towns because the conditions of work there are more advantageous than in the country is not entirely justified. The length of the hours of labor, however, is not the determining cause of the rural exodus. The prospect of benefitting by a freer life, of enjoying the distractions of the town, of wearing better clothes, the opportunity of setting up a home, and so on, are things which, especially for young people, have even more attractive force. But the principal cause for the abandonment of the rural districts is the

hope of finding in the town the opportunity of rising in the social scale. . . . At least they hope to be able to give their children an education which will allow them to improve their social condition."

Both M. Albert Thomas and Arthur Fontaine have answered these protests, stating that while they are not at liberty to publish the minutes of the Peace Conference, it is clear that the Treaty authorizes the International Labor Office to include the conditions of labor in agriculture in its activities. M. Fontaine said: "I venture personally to assure you that in the course of the discussion which the drafting of that part of the Treaty occasioned . . . it was fully understood that the conditions of labor in agriculture were within the scope of the action of the International Labor Organization equally with the conditions of labor in industry and commerce."

M. Thomas said, besides, in his reply:

"In any case the Governing Body has been careful to consider the protection of the agricultural worker above all as a means of hindering the diminution of agricultural production by staying or at least restraining the rural exodus. You have yourself indicated in your letter some reasons for this rural exodus. There are many men, competent like yourself, who, whilst recognizing the reasons you give to be well founded, consider that the rural exodus is caused by the desire on the part of the agricultural workers to improve their living conditions. We are strongly of the opinion that legislation, which is directed towards an extension of technical education among rural workers, towards facilitating the transformation of rural wage-earners into independent workers, towards ameliorating their hygienic conditions, will certainly retain on the land a large number of workers who now leave the country for the town."

This correspondence has resulted in considerable discussion, naturally, and the British National Union of Agricultural Workers has taken a definite stand against the arguments of the Swiss Peasant's Union, even expressing surprise that "a document containing a number of arguments which have been refuted over and over again in the past should receive such notice," and adding:

"Must it be repeated, then, that the proposals to be discussed . . . are nothing but the very fringe of those necessary to secure improvement in the conditions of workers as workers?"

The particular trades in which men are engaged do not enter into the question at all. It is the mere fact that workers are engaged in any occupation which entitles them to these considerations. . . . When we realize that the ameliorations proposed are not intended to confer special and extraordinary benefits on one section of the workers, but are regarded as the very minimum necessary to secure to the workers a reasonable condition of existence, it is an astonishing thing in these enlightened days that any organized body should regard them as wholly unacceptable."

The Italian Labor Conference, held on March 9 to discuss the coming International Conference, went on record as supporting agricultural regulations and their inclusion in the agenda of the Conference. "The Italian delegates, it was suggested, should also support the extension to agriculture of the provisions of Washington relative to maternity, to night work of women, and to the minimum age for the admission of children to employment, with, of course, the modifications called for by the nature of agricultural work." The International Labor Office itself has published, in preparation for the Conference, two special bulletins on the 8-hour day in agriculture in Italy and France.

As to the regulation of agricultural child labor the International Labor Office says:

"It is some years since the fixing of a minimum age for the admission of children to agricultural labor first attracted the attention of the advocates of international legislation.

"In 1908, some time before the Washington Conference, the International Association for Labor Legislation declared, at the Congress of Lucerne, the need for the protection of children employed in agriculture, and adopted the following proposal:

"The national sections are requested to seek means to secure as soon as possible the complete prohibition of child labor, and in so doing, to be guided by the following principles:

"(1) The employment of children to be subject to regulations in all occupations carried on for purposes of gain.

"(2) Such regulations to apply to all children employed in agriculture, a distinction to be made between children working for their parents and for strangers respectively.

"(3) Children not to be employed for purposes of gain during school age; in so far as school attendance is not compulsory, employment to be permitted on the conclusion of the fourteenth year of age, or, in agriculture, of the thirteenth year.'

"This Lucerne resolution is interesting inasmuch as it deals succinctly with the various questions raised by the employment of children in agriculture. In the next place it contains the idea that the most effective means of protecting them may be compulsory education; that such compulsory education might be applied with a certain latitude so as to allow the presence of children in the fields during a period when they could render useful service, and finally and above all, that the employment of the farmer's family alone is permissible in this way. . . .

"The regulation of child labor is no less important in agriculture than in industry. The country people often prefer to put their children to work in the fields rather than send them to school. Therefore the regulation of the age of admission of children to agricultural labor is in the interest of the intellectual development of the population. . . .

"The various observations set out above lead to the following questionnaire:

### QUESTIONNAIRE

"A. Are you of opinion that the Draft Convention adopted at Washington fixing the minimum age of admission of children to industrial labor should be applied to agricultural labor?

"B. Do you consider that during the period when schools are open, child labor should be forbidden on the land?

"(1) Should this prohibition be absolute?

"(2) Should child labor be authorized during a certain number of hours before and after the time of the opening of the school? If so, for how many hours?

"(3) Until what age do you propose that child labor should be forbidden in the fields?

"(a) Absolutely?

"(b) For a limited amount of work performed after school?

"C. Ought the prohibition to apply to children employed by their parents on land which is worked with no outside assistance?

"D. Do you consider that the age of admission generally authorized should be raised for certain types of labor? If so, for what types of labor?

"E. Do you consider that during the holidays the children should be allowed to accompany their parents to work in the fields? If so, from what age?

"F. What measures of control do you propose?

### NIGHT WORK OF CHILDREN

"With regard to night work of children it appears advisable to repeat the observations made above as regards employment of women during the night:

"(1) Employment of children during the night is very rare in agriculture.

"(2) Everything depends in this matter, on the definition given by the Conference of the term 'night' as regards agricultural labor."



This questionnaire has been sent, of course, to the constituents of the International Labor Conference. It would be interesting to know what the attitude of the United States to such proposals would be. Are we ready for them? What do our farmers and farm-associations think of them? The symposium published in this issue of the *AMERICAN CHILD* may throw some light on the subject. And if any interested reader feels moved to answer the questionnaire in the light of his own experience and beliefs, the National Child Labor Committee will be very glad to receive and consider the answers. Indeed, if enough interested readers would take the trouble, we might have material for another very interesting symposium. If you care to give us the benefit of your views please address the Director of Research, National Child Labor Committee, 105 East 22nd Street, New York City.

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The cost of instruction is but one item in the cost of an education, for the child must somehow be maintained while it is studying. The power of the bright sons of the poor to compete for the prizes of life with the sons of the well-to-do is limited by the financial inability of their parents to keep them long in school. It appears that out of 100 children who enter American city schools 45 drop out before reaching the sixth grade. Only 25 enter the high schools, and of these but 6 complete the course. The United States Commissioner of Education estimates that one-ninth of the pupils who began school in 1905 graduate from the high school and that one in seventy will graduate from college. Since a higher education is rapidly becoming requisite for the better places in industry, government, and the professions, it is plain that free instruction goes only part of the way toward putting the children of the poor on an equal footing with the children of the well-to-do in vying for these better places. A society earnestly bent on equalizing educational opportunities would see that no capable child quit school because its parents could not support it or needed its earnings.—*Edward A. Ross in "The Principles of Sociology."*

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Every child should be made secure in his right to the safeguarding of his health, in the development of his physical and mental power, and in his specific training for a useful part in the life of the nation. And what is that national life in which the child is to have his part? First, it is a life of cooperative effort for maximum economic production, and for relatively equal distribution of the results of such cooperation, second, it is a life of associated activities on a plane implying intelligence, self-respect, personal and family dignity. It implies the extinction of poverty, along with the abolition of ignorance and inefficiency.—*Albert Shaw in a public address.*

## A CHILD LABORER'S DIARY

*(As it might have been written by an infant prodigy.)*

By THOMAS L. MASSON

I arose this morning at 5 and put on my overalls with a deep sense of gratitude to my Creator that I was destined to live in a great country like this. Before going to my daily work I tidied up the house a bit, as mother isn't well. Father's being out of a job just now is fortunate, as he is of considerable assistance in the household, although the maintenance of the family devolves upon me more or less.

It was a bright, sunny day, and as I walked to the factory my sight was enlivened by some pretty flowers by the wayside. At night when I return I am too tired to notice them.

But I love my factory. I love the whirr of the wheels and the dust and the grinding work. I have never known anything else, it is true, but when I see other children who don't have the privilege of working as I do, I cannot help but feel a great sense of pity for them, to think that they are being deprived of their childhood.

—From *New York Evening Post*, by Special Permission

## PINKIE: THE LITTLE COTTON-PICKER\*

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JOHN F. SMITH

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Professor Smith continues in this number his story of home and social life in the Southland of Pinkie, the little cotton picker. Pinkie's father, David, is a tenant cropper, always in debt to his landlord and the storekeeper—the evil fortune of hundreds, thousands, of other renters. Pinkie's mother is Winnie, broken down from hard work and the bearing of many babies. "Old Marg" is the midwife of the countryside. "Old Monk Dan'l" and Jepp are neighbors. "Old Angeline" is a negro woman.

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In the autumn, after the tragical death of young Steve, Pinkie and the other children spent their days picking cotton. With large bags hung from their shoulders they went forth full of good spirits and laughter to their daily tasks. At first their fingers were made sore by the sharp points of the bolls, but the skin soon became toughened and pain was no longer felt. They raced with one another to see who could pick the most; they fought battles with the green bolls; they drew straws to see who should weigh the basket when it was full. They considered it great sport to weigh the basket and empty—they called it "dumping"—its contents into the pen. All usually went to the pen, and while some were working others were digging tunnels in the soft white fibre. Once a tunnel caved in on Billy, and only the heroic work of Mabel and Pinkie saved him from smothering.

"Tell you what, hit shore had me about fixed!" said Billy who felt somewhat of a hero after the experience.

"Yes, I say you wuz about fixed, smarty," retorted Pinkie. "Next time we'll just let you scratch your way out by yoreself."

As soon as the children reached home that day one of them informed Billy's mother about it, and her one admonition every

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\* This is the second part of the third article by Professor Smith in his series, "How the Other Half Lives in the Open Country."

morning thereafter was, "Now children, don't throw rocks or dig holes in the cotton."

But she might as well have warned a groundmole against digging into the earth.

David was frequently out with the children picking cotton and silently enjoying their fun and laughter, but having little part in it. He thought and worried constantly about shoes for little feet, clothes for the winter, the mortgage note and the winter's supply of food. Cares and disappointments had cut such deep furrows in his life that he had almost forgotten how to laugh.

One day when little Minnie, a younger sister, had strolled off into the weeds to hunt for pawpaws she was bitten on the ankle by a copperhead snake. Her loud screams brought the whole flock of cotton-pickers to her side, but she was too much frightened and was suffering too severely to tell what had happened. Finally Mabel discovered two little holes in her ankle, the skin about them being somewhat whiter than the rest, and the secret was guessed. Then began a search for the snake. They believed with a great many others among the fields that one of the surest ways to cure a snake-bite is to kill the snake. The reptile was finally found and killed. Billy declared that he could "jist see the pizen ooze out'n its mouth when its head was mashed."

When the snake was disposed of all attention was directed to the little girl. Cold water was poured on the wound, which was beginning to swell, and mullein leaves were pulled, bruised, and bound on it. Then she was carried to the house.

"What in the name of goodness has happened?" cried her mother as the party approached the doorway.

"Got bit by a copperhead, Winnie," replied David. "You got any alum an' whiskey?"

Both happened to be in the house, and were promptly brought from the shelf. The alum was scraped with a knife and the powder was applied with a damp cloth to the wound. The whiskey—about half a pint—was poured down the throat of the suffering, kicking, screaming little girl. The poultice of mullein leaves was removed and a quid of tobacco was substituted.

The child was soon very ill, for it was a big snake nearly three feet long, and the poison had been injected deep into the flesh.



The mother sat by the child's bed bathing her forehead. David sat near, not knowing what else to do.

Old Angeline, who had heard the child screaming "clear to de tater-patch," had come to see what the trouble was.

"Lawsy, Miss Winnie, whut's de matter wid dat chile?"

"Copperhead bit her ankle, Angeline."

"Whut have you done fur it?"

All the remedies were mentioned.

"Why don't you put chicken gizzard on it, Missa Davy? Dat's whut I put on my little Ike's laig when a big rattler bit 'im, an' he got well right away. Come mighty nigh goin', tho. You 'member it, don't you, Miss Winnie?"

"David, that might help the pore little thing. Le's try it."

"Well, we can try—" said David.

Thereupon he went into the yard, fed some dough to the chickens, caught one, wrung its neck, and proceeded at once to secure the popular antidote. The gizzard was applied with a bandage to the ankle, and for the rest of the afternoon they watched beside the bed as the little sufferer hovered between life and death, death almost winning, but finally losing the contest. As midnight approached she began to recover from both the whiskey and the poison of the snake. She recovered slowly and could not use her foot for many days. It was such a near approach to death that for months afterwards the mere mention of a snake almost frightened her into hysterics.

The world of educators will never know how many children will suffer thus, and how many will die before scientific treatment takes the place of superstitious remedies. Neither David nor Winnie nor old Angeline had ever heard of the tourniquet and bleeding method and the ammonia wash. They knew nothing of the nature of snake poison. They believed with the majority of untaught country folk today that the best remedy for a snake-bite is whiskey taken by the quart if possible. Some recommend that the snake's heart be swallowed, others insist that its liver be applied to the wound. Had not nature decreed that most people bitten by poisonous snakes will recover without medical attention there would be many more mounds in the country graveyards. The popular remedies do not hasten recovery. But there will always be the marginal toll of deaths until every school that trains teachers

requires a course in first aid and simple home remedies, and until every child is taught the best that medical science has to offer.

## V

Before the cotton was at its best sorghum-making time came on. David always planned to grow a patch of cane, for he liked sorghum and he knew the children liked it. 'Lasses was one of the chief items of diet for the family. It served as sweetening for coffee, sweet-cakes, pumpkin, pumpkin-bread, and other foods. Sugar rarely found its way to the table, but 'lasses was there every day until the year's supply was exhausted.

The pickers had to go from the cotton to the cane patch to strip cane. This is a most trying piece of work for children. The smaller ones stripped off the bottom blades, which were usually dead by stripping time; the older folks stripped the blades to the top. This is much harder on hands than picking cotton, and is equally trying on backs. But the youngsters found a lot of fun as well as hard work in doing it. Billy prepared two long sword blades of pieces of boards which he used to advantage in stripping the upper blades. Mabel and Pinkie, however, did not attempt to use these but employed their hands only. They all often paused to peel the lower joints, chew the pulp and swallow the juice. Sometimes they played "rap-jacket" with the immature stalks. And during all these days of toil they looked forward with great anticipation to visits at night to the "stir-off."

David cut the cane behind the strippers and laid it in small piles on the ground. When several piles had been completed he returned and cut off the tops. The stalks were then hauled to the mill where the juice was pressed out between rollers and boiled into the thick syrup so universally used in country homes in the Southland. The heads or tops were later gathered up and taken to the barn to be fed to the cow and the chickens.

Bye-and-bye time came for going to the "stir-off." Pete Gulley and his two sisters came by to go with the Abbott children. They came to go with the crowd, but in reality Pete came with the hope of going with Mabel, for, as Old Angeline said, "Pete been sotah sidelin' roun' Mabel for a right smart while." Immediately after supper they were off to the sorghum mill, David acting as

chaperon. It was less than a mile across the fields, and they knew the paths as well as the rabbits knew them.

They reached the mill where Old Thornton, Angeline's brother-in-law, was the chief skimmer. Other youngsters were there before them. Five of Old Angeline's grandchildren, Millie's boys, were there. These little imps, each one blacker than any of the others, hung about the run-pit like flies. With paddles and spoons made of joints of cane they flocked around the can that caught the newly-made sorghum as it came steaming hot from the evaporator, dipped up the hot foam and ate it greedily. They always seemed to be hungry, and probably always were. Their food at home consisted chiefly of corn pone, potatoes, fat salt pork, and milk begged from the neighbors for the little ones. Old Angeline often said, "God knows, Miss Winnie, dem little brats is always like dey're starvin' to death. Dey're harder to fill up any day den a meal-sack."

When Old Thornton was away and Cam Spray had charge of the skimming he often threw hot foam on their bare feet "jest to see the little black devils jump and squall." But that didn't amount to much; they would submit to any kind of indignity and suffer no small degree of torture if only they could "git to lick 'lasses fum de can."

David and his crowd immediately fell to making spoons from joints of cane. Old Thornton was on the job and, as usual, he was glad to have the young white folks come 'round.

"Hi-dy, Missa Davy! Bring um right 'round. Gwine a-stir off right away. Hi-dy Pinkie! Hi-dy Miss Mabel! How's you' Ma an' de baby?"

Thus did this old son of an African greet them. He was one of those rare souls among the black folks who was a friend to men, to children in particular, and always made them happy with tales and stories when they were about him. He was especially fond of Pinkie and usually had a good story for her whenever she appeared. He used to take her on his back for a ride when he was passing, and she was always glad to see his fine white teeth appear when he laughed.

"Miss Pinkie, cookin' dis 'run' des to suit you. Got yo' paddle ready? Git right up here by de can so you can git um hot."

Then he pulled the plug from the spout and raked out the foaming, steaming syrup and grinned joyfully as the youngsters

almost fought for room at the can. He chuckled with satisfaction and delight as they dipped their spoons and paddles into the hot foam and licked it off while it was steaming. Little did the old man or any of them, Pinkie least of all, dream that in less than a month from that night he would be the victim of an awful tragedy, a tragedy part of which Pinkie and Billy were to see, and which was so horrible that they dreamed about it for weeks afterwards and never dared to pass the spot again unless in a run.

After Old Thornton had made the last stir-off for the night the young folks went home. They had eaten the hot foam till all were satisfied—all except Millie's five pickanninies, who seemed, as Old Angeline said, "harder to fill dan a meal sack." They remained after David and his group had gone.

Pete Gulley "sash-ayed" around Mabel all the way back home and received many a brier scratch on his bare feet and ankles for getting out of the narrow path in order to walk beside her. But Pete would have walked barefoot over live coals in order to walk by Mabel's side. She tolerated him somewhat as she would a horse-fly—but escape from death was encouragement enough to keep him buzzing around.

"Well, so-long Pete," said Billy as he turned in towards the door.

"So-long," replied Pete.

That's what Old Thornton said as the party left the stir-off—and everybody answered, "So-long."

"Matildy, you and Joan come to see us," said Pinkie.

"We will. You and Mabel come over to see us."

"All right, we will."

David's flock entered the house. It was a small double-house with no side porch, but with an open hall between the rooms and a lean-to on the side. A stick-and-dirt chimney stood at each end. Winnie was sitting up holding a sleeping child in her arms. In fact she was rarely seen without the baby on her arm or shoulder, and it seemed to be constantly nursing.

"Well, I jes 'lowed you all had got lost. Looked like you never wuz comin'."

"Wy mammy, we just had the bestest time—had all the 'lasses we could eat, and just heaps of fun. Old Thornt was just as good to us as he could be. Millie's boys wuz there starvin' as usual,



an' Pete an' Matildy an' Joan, an' Peg Neal, an' Jaap Hester an' Nettie Key, an' we all just eat all we wanted."

Thus spoke Pinkie while she danced up and down for joy.

"Well, hurry an' wash yore feet an' run along to bed, all of you, so you can git up soon in the mornin' "—This from Mammy.

Getting up early was one of Winnie's household virtues. Every-one of her children considered it one of her vices. Three-thirty often found her up puttering about breakfast, and by four she began calling the children. This calling process usually lasted for half an hour or more. At the end of the noisy season, tired, sleepy heads began to rise up, aching arms lifted fists into weary eyes, and after much rubbing, yawning, blinking, groaning and hesitating the youngsters crawled to the edge of the bed and pallets, slipped on dresses and trousers and sought the wash-pan, where they completed the waking-up process.

But on this night of the stir-off they were tired and did not linger when the mother told them to go to bed. All their feet were soon washed—some of them washed only in spots—and the children were off to their rest. Winnie had "made down pallets" for the larger ones but the little fellows slept in the two extra beds. One bed was occupied by David, Winnie, and the baby. No baby's bed was ever used. In the daytime when the baby slept it was usually laid in a cradle made of a box set on rockers. If it cried the cradle was rocked until the child fell asleep.

No night clothes were used by any member of the family for the very simple reason that no one possessed any. At bedtime the outer garments were removed, and the undergarments—if there were any—worn by day served as sleeping garments. The boys merely slipped off their pants and slept with only their shirts on.

Thus do tens of thousands of the poor sleep every night of the year through a whole lifetime. In numerous homes a change of clothes at night is an unheard of thing. Whether it is summer and clothes are soaked with perspiration, or winter when all personal possessions are employed to keep the body warm, the custom is the same. But a custom like this mattered little to the children. They slept the sweet sleep of tired childhood until the untimely call of their mother roused them from slumber next morning.

The day after the visit to the stir-off was spent in the cotton field, as were many days afterwards. After a hasty breakfast of

fried potatoes, bacon (fat salt pork), buttermilk which the smaller children mixed with cornbread and ate with spoons from tin cans, coffee without cream but sweetened with sorghum, and a few leftovers—when there were any—they milked the cow, “slopped the fattening hogs,” toted in stove-wood for dinner, and as soon as the dew cleared away they were off with their “pokes” to the cotton patch. No day differed much from the others, but all were full of work, fun, life for the cotton-pickers.

## VI

But a day came that was different from all the rest. It had rained for two days, and a nipping frost had killed the undeveloped cotton bolls and opened the chestnut burrs. While Mabel and her mother did the family washing Pinkie and Billy took tin pails and went to the chestnut woods more than a mile away. The first frost had not loosened the nuts very well, so they spent much of the day knocking the fruit from low trees. Billy climbed some of the trees and “fraild the nuts off.” It was past mid-afternoon when they set out for home, each with two small buckets well filled.

They had just crossed the road and gone a short way into the swampy growth when they set their buckets on the ground and sat down to rest. A wagon came round the road visible only here and there among the small trees. On the wagon was a wood-frame but no bed. Seated on a shuck mat was Old Thornton, the driver, and behind him were two other negroes, one black, the other yellow, both strangers to the children. The nut-gatherers would have run out and called to the old fellow had these other negroes not been on the wagon. So they remained seated on the moss behind the bushes.

Suddenly the black negro stepped from his seat on the rear of the wagon and picked up a large piece of limb which lay on the roadside. Billy had kicked that limb out of the road as he crossed. He climbed back on the wagon while it was moving, the driver knowing nothing of the movement. As the wagon was about to pass from sight the black man rose on his knees, lifted the stick and struck Old Thornton on the head, knocking him off the wagon. The yellow negro jumped off immediately and ran to the roadside,

where he stooped to pick up a large rock. But Pinkie and Billy waited to see no more. Leaving their chestnuts where they were they jumped to their feet and ran like frightened deer along the well-hidden path through the swamp towards home. Never did little feet carry frightened human beings with greater speed. They expected each moment to hear footsteps pursuing them, and they glanced back now and then to see whether the strange black man with a big stick was coming. But if he ever started he was out-distanced so quickly that he became disheartened and gave up the chase. The flying speed was not lessened until they reached the corner of the cotton field near their home. Neither had spoken a word because both were too badly frightened to speak. When in the cotton field they slowed up a bit and merely trotted, but Pinkie suddenly saw visions of a big black man with a huge stick in his hand coming out of the swamp, and in broken tones she exclaimed:

"Don't stop, Billy; he—he git us yet!"

Whereupon the two quickened their pace and ran as fast as their tired, trembling legs could carry them.

Winnie was standing in the hall with the baby on her arm watching their hasty approach. By the time they reached the edge of the yard she called to them:

"Children, what in the world is the matter?"

Wild-eyed, red-faced, and panting they rushed up, and Pinkie cried, "Mammy, they're a-killin' Old Thornt!"

"Yes sir," broke in Billy, "they're a-beatin' his brains out with sticks and rocks."

"Wy, who is?"

"A big black man and a yaller nigger," said Pinkie.

"Yes sir, they's two uv um," said Billy, "an' we thought they wuz a-goin' to git us an' we put out."

"Well, where wuz you?" inquired their mother.

"Right up close to the road, mammy—'bout as fur as to the peach tree yonder. We could see um jes as plain as day."

"Yes sir, we wuz right up at um, an'—"

"But whur are yore chestnuts?"

Billy and Pinkie looked at each other in blank surprise. Each had forgotten all about chestnuts. It now dawned on them that they had left their buckets in the swamp, and each looked and understood the gaze of the other.

"Mammy, we left um right whur we wuz a-settin' when the black man hit Ole Thornt. Do you reckon they found um?"

Winnie felt disposed to scold, but she began to realize the awfulness of the report so she refrained. The other children had gathered around, and David, who was sitting at his shaving-horse and had seen the children coming at such unusual speed, came to see what the excitement was about.

"Whut chu say the trouble is?" he queried.

Whereupon the whole tragedy as far as seen was recounted in every detail, Billy breaking in frequently to corroborate what Pinkie said. By the time it was told the fourth time Pinkie began to grow faint. The excitement and the mad race proved to be too much for her, hardened though she was by exercise, and she became quite sick. Mabel bathed her face with cold water and helped her to bed. But Billy continued to relate the incident to the wondering and frightened youngsters.

David hurried over to get Jase Gulley in order to go see what had really happened. Jase left his wood chopping at once and went with David. The two men hurried unarmed along the path so recently warmed by the flying feet of Billy and Pinkie—a rather foolhardy thing to do, but it must be remembered that there are thousands of men in the open country accustomed to do the most ordinary things of life who have never yet learned what the word fear means. They keep cool on all occasions, and in the words of an old hunter and woodsman, "air jest like these here little swamp boars—all snout and tushes, and ain't afeared of the devil."

They found the buckets of chestnuts untouched even by the snout of a pig. This was a very unusual thing, for there are few square yards of land in the cotton country that are not pattered over several times a day by the swarms of ever-hungry and weather-beaten pigs. And their scent for a morsel to eat seems to be as highly developed as that of a vulture for a carcass.

"Danged if one of them swamp boars cain't smell an apple from here to Chiny, and he'd swim through hell any day before sun-up to git in yore tater patch" (sweet potatoes).

Thus spake the neighborhood philosopher, Old Josh Atkins, to a group of ancient rail-birds one day, and all nodded assent. One rolled his quid, spat at a lizard and said with a wag of his head, "Josh, hit's shore to be."



When Jase and David reached the road they found all that Pinkie and Billy had reported to be true. There was the big stick, there were rocks with blood on them; yonder was the wagon and team, the bony old horses with collars and hames down over their ears munching grass, and a little way from the road lay Old Thornton with his skull crushed and his face horribly mangled. Nothing was seen of the big black man or the "yaller nigger." An examination of Old Thornton's person revealed the fact that all the money had been taken from his pockets, which led David and Jase to conclude that robbery was the motive which impelled the men to murder him. But why this particular time was chosen they did not know at that time.

David went to tell Old Thornton's wife, while Jase hastened to inform Old Angeline and her man. According to David's story Old Aunt Allie "took on so" that he "jist had to leave to keep from crying with her." But Old Angeline presented quite a different front when Jase told her.

"Wy, good lawd, man, whut's dat you tellin' me?"

"It's the god's truth, Angeline. Dave an' me jist come from the road out yonder, an' if Old Thornt aint'a-layin' there with all his brains beat out I hope to God I may never know my name agin."

"Well, who beat um out? Who's been out dar pesterin' Thornton? I jes lak to know who done it. I'll beat *his* brains out or my name ain't Angeline."

"Well, they ain't nobody knows who done it 'cept the fellers Dave's children seed on the wagon with 'im."

"Seed on de wagon wid 'im! Well, who'd dey look lak?"

"They said they wuz a big black man an' a yaller nigger."

"Yaller nigger! 'Pon my honor, I knowed dey was some yaller trash doin' dis. Decent niggah ain't a-gwine hurt a ole man like Thornton. Never kin put no confidence in a yaller nigger. Black nigger's good ez white folks. Don't want no yaller suck-aig dawg 'round me. No suh."

"Well, they wuz a black man on the wagon, and Dave's children say he hit 'im first."

"Don' b'lieve a word of it. I knows who dat yaller nigger is. Same suck-aig dawg been hangin' 'roun' one of Allie's gals. Ain't fitten to live. No 'e aint. I'll yaller nigger 'im if ever I git my hands on him, now I tell you."

Then, according to Jase, the old woman hurried into the house in a torrent of rage, seized her bonnet and started to Old Thornton's house "spittin' hell-fire an' damnation against all the yaller niggers ye ever heard about."

In due time the body of Old Thornton was taken home amid loud lamentations, and the next day it was laid to rest in a home-made coffin in Piney Grove graveyard.

Late on that afternoon Old Monk Dan'l met Old Steve, who was just returning home on horseback from a three-day trip to "look at" some yearlings.

"A-ah, they've gone an' killed Old Thornt while ye wuz away. Beat his brains plum out with a lim' an' a rock."

"Killed Old Thornt! Wy, who done it?"

"Big black man an' a yaller nigger."

"Well, it's jes one more damn' nigger out of the way."

When Old Monk told this to Pinkie she wept bitter tears. To her the death of the old man meant the loss of a dear friend. She had been able to see what many of her white friends had never seemed to discover—that underneath the old man's black skin was a heart as fine, sympathetic and noble as one ever finds in the body of man. He lived only a narrow life but he lived it in a beautiful way. His actions appeared to some to be entirely on the lower levels, and they constantly mentioned hen-coops and turkey-roosts when talking to him or about him, but to Him who measures men not by outward appearances but by character the old fellow must have stood out boldly above most of his neighbors.

He had often said to Pinkie, "Be a good little gal today, honey, an' you'll make a fine lady some day. Old Thornt don't know much but he know when a man's a genimun. Des keep on a-bein' good, honey; you'll come through all right."

And the little girl usually smiled and replied, "All right, Uncle Thornt, I'll try."

Those who know not the pleasanter side of race relationships in the Southland can never conceive of the tremendous influence for good that the more refined class of negroes, both men and women, have on the children of that region. Such an influence comes at its best from the older negroes, those whom hard work, simple faith, and long experience have fashioned into choice citizens of the nation and the Kingdom. They may dress in rags, eat the simplest and

poorest food, sleep on shuck mats, have only tin plates on the table; they may know nothing of the great questions that stir men's minds throughout the nation, but in matters of simple faith, honest living, nobility in extreme poverty, some of them cannot be excelled by people of any station or blood. There are those like Old Steve who never recognize this but who looks upon a negro's death as merely "another damn' nigger out of the way." But there are others like little Pinkie to whom it is given to see through the fog of prejudice and racial antagonism into the hearts of black folks made sublimely tender and compassionate by the forces that can only radiate from the God of tender hearts and virtuous lives.

The chief motives for the murder soon became known. There were two causes. Old Thornton had sold some yearlings shortly before the tragedy, and his murderers evidently thought they would find the cattle-money on his person. It came out later in court that there was a sum slightly exceeding \$17 in his pocket. The other cause was perhaps more important. A few weeks after the murder a child was born to one of Aunt Allie's girls, and the "yaller nigger" was said to be the father. Old Thornton was aware of this some weeks before his death and had vainly tried to persuade the fellow to marry his daughter in order to save as far as possible the honor of his family. Failing in the gentler efforts he threatened to "law" the man in case he refused when the matter should become known to the public. It was said to be this threat of the law which prompted the guilty suitor to put the girl's father out of the way.

At the next term of circuit court there was a long trial in which both Pinkie and Billy were witnesses. So were David and Jase. Every effort was made by the defending lawyers to break the testimony of the two children but all efforts failed.

"What did your daddy tell you to swear?" said a lawyer to Pinkie in the court.

"He told me to swear the truth"—and a ripple of amusement swept over the audience.

The big black man was convicted and hanged. The "yaller nigger" after a second trial was declared not guilty. It was then that Pinkie lost confidence in courts and juries. She had seen with her own eyes things which she believed proved the man guilty. Her childish mind could not comprehend the mysteries of alibis and circumstantial evidence. Thousands of other people of more

mature minds find it difficult today to determine why some juries act as they do.

## VII

Days passed in picking cotton, digging potatoes, gathering nuts, corn and pumpkins, and getting ready for winter. The hunting and trapping season was coming on, and it was at this season that Billy's talents shone brightest. He trapped for 'possums, polecats, mus'rats, rabbits, everything that burrowed into the fields about him. Many a full meal was set as a result of his efforts. The family larder would have been empty many times had he not supplied it with game. He was an expert at twisting out and smoking rabbits and groundhogs. He was equally skilled in catching rabbits in box traps baited with apples, and in taking "patterges" in slat traps baited with oats, rye, bread, and sorghum seed. Old Thornton had taught him how to dig the trench to the "patteridge" trap, and he had learned from his father how to cut triggers for the slat bird trap. In the latter cardinals, sparrows, juncos, towhees, and bluejays were captured for stews and bird-pies. Even the dove driven by hunger sometimes sought food under the trap only to be held a prisoner and stewed for a hungry child's dinner. It was against the law to catch quail in traps, but protective game laws do not stay the hunger pains in children; therefore many a stewed quail was relished that winter, and in other winters, because Billy persisted in his efforts to supply the larder with fresh game.

At night he often hunted 'possums with old Nig, the dog, and Tobe, Millie's eldest boy. Both Billy and Tobe were expert climbers, and many a moonlight night saw them "shinnying" up persimmon trees and dogwoods to shake down the 'possum. This 'possum hunting furnished a lot more fun than food, but the latter was never objected to. On one fine November night the following scene occurred near the edge of the big swamp in Old Steve's cow-pasture:

The boys had been out for a long time without any results. Both were growing a little discouraged when Nig's voice broke the stillness nearly half a mile away from them. They knew by his bark that he had treed.

"Listen! Man, boy, you heah dat mockin' burd ovah dar tow'ds de pastur. Singin' sweet music fo' me."

"Yeh, shore's a jack-snapper, he's treed. Les go an' git 'im."



"Cut 'cross de corner of de fiel' an' watch out for de sinkhole."

"He's shore got 'im. Bet he can see 'im jes waitin' for us."

"F 'e knowed whut wuz comin' to 'im he wouldn't be waitin'. He'd be sailin' off lak a turkey buzzard, I boun' you."

"Watch out for this hole! There's whur Ole Steve's mare broke her laig. Now we're gettin' close. Keep yore eye skinned."

"Billy, lemme clim' fo' dis un."

"Feller sees 'im first gits to go atter 'im."

"Shine out, sea'ch lights; Tobe des got to go up dat tree!"

As they approached the spot both found their way through a brier patch, receiving many a scratch as they tore through tangled places. But briars were scarcely more than sedge grass to these intrepid hunters when old Nig was treed. Both were looking in the top of every small tree and bush and paying no attention to their feet.

"Dar 'e is, Billy! Ha-a-a white folks, dar 'e is right up dar a-lookin' down."

"I don't see no 'possum."

"Come heah, man; I show 'im to ye. Wight up in dat 'simmon tree. Looks as big as a cow. Now you see 'im?"

"Oh yes, I got im. Well, you git to go for 'im."

"Git out o' de way, niggahs, an' let Tobe git 'is toe-nails in dat bark. Hol' up de lantern, Billy, an' see dat rainbow in his eyes."

"Yeh, I see um shine. Looks mighty good to me."

"Bet yore britches. Shine lak de gates o' parydise. Git ready for de shindig now. Hod-ziggiddy, I'se a-comin'. Git yo' tail-holt fastened an' say grace over de las' 'simmon."

"Tobe, he's a-climin' higher."

"No use-er fo' to clim' higher now, for Tobe, de big-bellied possum-eater is a-comin'. Dis way, ole man. Ha-a-a, comin' for ye."

"Golly, jes look at 'im go up that lim'."

"Yeh, an' des watch me go up right behin' 'im. I'll feed Ole Steve's shotes wid all de 'simmons on dis tree or git 'im. Now git ready fo' de cradle-rockin'—

By-o, baby Bunty,  
Daddy's gone a-hunty,  
Git a little 'possum skin  
To wrop up baby Bunty in.

Tighten up de tail-holt, Jonah. Take hol' wid de teeth an' hin' laigs; gwine come a harrycane d'reckly."

"Now shake 'im, you're high enough."

"Look out, down dar! 'Possum come sailin' down lak a flyin' squir'l. All han's ready to rock de cradle!"

A little shaking, a little clinging with toes, teeth and tail, a sudden hard jerk of the limb and down came the grinning quarry, not grinning however while falling. He dropped into the jaws of waiting Nig, who had barked, jumped, sat down, shivered, whined, let his teeth chatter and his mouth water in impatient anticipation of the shaking and rib-cracking that were soon to follow. Billy let Nig "gnaw 'im awhile to make him hunt good," and then rescued the catch and put him into a tow-sack. Then they went their way for further adventures, remaining out till late in the night.

Sometimes half a dozen or more 'possums were bagged in a night. They were usually put into a sack carried along for the purpose, but in the absence of a sack their tails were split and strung on a stick for ease in carrying—ease affecting the carrier but not the animal. Quite often the stick was split and the tail was put into the split as if in a vise, an incision being made in the tail to prevent it from slipping out. In all these methods the welfare of the animal was never considered; only the comfort of the hunter was thought of. The catch was always equally divided between the hunters, and was kept under wash kettles or zinc tubs over night.

Billy always skinned his 'possums and sold the hides. Tobe scalded his in hot water containing ashes and scraped off the hair. Billy asked him one day why he did this, and he answered, "Don' want to give up nuthin' dat'll do to eat. When I eats a 'possum I wants 'im hide, taller, an' all"—and all of Millie's flock favored his attitude.

After the family had spent long days and nights staying indoors, sleeping in stuffy rooms, coughing and sneezing and suffering with colds, wading through mud and light snows, and crowding at evening around the two small fireplaces, the winter passed and the first days of spring came on—the uncertain March days when it is early spring by the calendar but winter in fact. With the coming of spring came work days and showers, wild flowers, bird songs, and freedom. Old Steve was pleased with David as a tenant and

decided to keep him for another year. David could do as well here as he could anywhere, so he decided to stay. A new field was chosen for cotton this year, and the same kind of mortgage note was signed up that meant meat, bread and coffee through the summer and the surrender of most of the crop the next fall.

The previous winter after the cotton was sold David had money enough left to buy shoes for all except the two youngest, and extra winter clothes for all the children. He never seemed to get anything for himself. He had weathered through the winter without overcoat, rubbers, or undershirt as usual. An old "slicker" was his sole protection against rain and cold wind. His poor clothing was not sufficient to keep him warm when out of doors, and his failing health had begun to be noticeable. But work he must whether sick or well, for Winnie and the children depended on him for support. He was like a great army of poor fathers who must go day after day through all sorts of weather in order to keep the wolf from the door where their little ones play. It never occurred to him that the greatest contribution he could have made to their happiness would have been to keep himself strong, healthy, and cheerful. But how to do this he did not know.

The last of the winter had been hard on the family. The larder had become very low, and there was almost no variety in the daily rations. The Irish potatoes had "give out" by the first of March, and the turnips that had been "holed up" in the fall were gone by February. The sweet potatoes had been reduced to "shoestrings," and the "shuck-beans" preserved in brine had all been used up. By the first of March there remained a little sauer kraut, some whip-poor-will peas, and a barrel of sorghum beginning to sour. The corn in the crib was getting low and "ratty." There was no cabbage, no apples, no onions, no canned fruits or vegetables. David was always too poor to buy sugar and fruit jars in large quantities, and Winnie had never learned how to can vegetables so they would keep. She had often tried to can corn, peas and beans but they always spoiled. Milk was scarce. Their one cow had very poor shelter for the winter, and her feed had been reduced to corn and shucks. There was barely enough milk for the smaller children. Winnie, though nursing the baby, never drank milk—that went to the children. The result was her own supply failed to satisfy the growing baby and it became sickly and fretful. She fed it bits of

bread and molasses, fried fat meat and gravy, anything the family happened to have. This brought on frequent attacks of colic and seemed to stop the little one from growing. It never occurred to her to use eggs. These were always sold to pay for kerosene, coffee, and other necessities or near-necessities. Thus the helpless babe suffered a slow martyrdom for the sake of the scanty comforts the family could afford. It developed rickets and its legs became slightly crooked. Winnie noticed this and felt somewhat disgraced that she should have a bow-legged baby. Old Angeline remarked about it one day and attributed it to what is widely believed to be the cause of such deformity:—

"Law, Miss Winnie, dis chile gittin' bow-legged. Lettin' it walk too soon. Mustn't let de little one walk till it git stout enough to stan' up. My little Andy was plum bow-legged 'cause de other chillun would be to have 'im on his feet all de time 'fo' he got stout enough to hol' up his own weight. Tell um to let you crawl, baby, till you can walk, so yore laigs will stay straight."

It had never occurred to these mothers—and rarely occurs to thousands of the poor at the present time—that it is not walking too early but malnutrition that produces bow-legs.

Winnie was in the position of thousands of mothers among the very poor. She knew nothing of "water solubles B" and "fat solubles A." No information about sustaining and protective foods had ever reached her. She thought that anything that would sustain life ought to produce milk. She had never dreamed that her own child at her breast was a living reason why she should eat an abundance of butter, onions, cabbage, kale, lettuce, and other leafy vegetables, and drink plenty of whole milk. David knew nothing of the principles of nutrition affecting mother and infant, and therefore made no provision whatever for any special diet. The mother suffered and the baby suffered even more. It cried by day and by night, giving her and David very little rest and sleep. She often gave it paregoric for colic and that usually put it to sleep, but she little dreamed that it needed food rather than physic.

Such is the experience of tens of thousands of poor mothers among the less fortunate folk of the open country. Their winter rations are reduced to fat meat, greasy gravy, corn bread, sorghum, coffee boiled long and spoiled, one or two vegetables pickled in vinegar, and an occasional chicken. Eggs go to market to pay for



kerosene, lamp-wicks, lamp-chimneys, snuff, soda, other necessities and indulgences. Whenever eggs are eaten they are usually fried hard in oceans of grease so that it is a risk for a small child to eat one. The people do not make adequate provisions for the winter's board for two reasons: poverty, which forbids the purchase of needed supplies for preserving, and lack of information about storing away vegetables for the winter months.

It is a crime against childhood and humanity for our educational leaders to omit from the curricula of our institutions the courses which would remedy this very condition. No one who expects to live in the open country should ever be permitted to graduate from any course without having devoted considerable time to the study of the principles of healthful living on the farm. There should be courses on how to feed babies and their nursing mothers, how to preserve and store away fruits and vegetables for the winter table, how to do invalid cookery, how to have a good milk supply, how to detect the presence of common diseases, and how to prevent them. These courses should not be merely elective, but should be required of all. Too little emphasis is placed on the things which are most closely related to the daily life and which often stand as arbiters between life and death of children. Heaven speed the day when those who head our schools and school systems will look humanity as it is straight in the face, will see the cause of weakened motherhood and the emaciated bodies of unreached children, will take seriously the pleadings of those who do recognize the forces that destroy whole armies of the illfed and lowly, and will do the really essential things that will bring health, strength and joy to the ill-fated little ones who wait and look in vain for a deliverer. No amount of argument in favor of classical and cultural training can ever atone for the death of one child who laid down its life as the price for an educational system that ignores the most fundamental things in life.

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The direct relation between rural child labor and a high rate of illiteracy becomes immediately obvious when the two rates are indicated on a map. The vicious circle of unintelligent and consequently unprofitable farming, poverty, and ignorance must somehow be broken for the safety of the nation as well as in the interest of the child.—*Helen V. Bary in The North American Review for April, 1921.*

# THE PRINCIPLES OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

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The following statement was adopted by the National Vocational Guidance Association in convention at Atlantic City, February 25 and 26, 1921. The president of the association is Mrs. Helen T. Woolley of Cincinnati; the secretary, Miss Anne S. Davis of Chicago.

The work of formulating this paper was done by a committee of the National Vocational Guidance Association consisting of John M. Brewer, Chairman, Director of the Bureau of Vocational Guidance, Harvard University; Miss Emma P. Hirth, Director of the Bureau of Vocational Information, New York City; and Professor Arthur J. Jones, School of Education, University of Pennsylvania. This committee was appointed in February, 1920. A mimeographed statement was sent out some months ago to the members of the National Vocational Guidance Association and was discussed in sessions of the various branch associations at meetings held in New York, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Philadelphia, Kansas City, Minneapolis, and San Francisco. As a result of these discussions suggestions for amendments were sent in to the committee, after which a revised report was formulated which was printed as the report of the committee for the consideration of the Convention at Atlantic City. Discussion at the Convention at four separate meetings resulted in the comprehensive amendment of the report and adoption by the National Association of the statement as printed herewith.

The Secretary of the National Vocational Guidance Association and the Bureau of Vocational Guidance at Harvard University will be interested in receiving suggestions, criticisms, and questions regarding this report and will be glad to give aid in any way possible in the publicity which the National Association wishes to give to these Principles. It is suggested particularly that teachers, social workers, employment managers, and labor organizations everywhere meet in groups to discuss these Principles and to see how local communities may apply these statements to the solution of their own problems.

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## I. FOREWORD

1. The term "vocational" comprises all occupations recognized in the census list, including agricultural, industrial, commercial, homemaking, and professional callings.

2. Vocational guidance as defined and described in these principles is only one phase of guidance. Other phases, such as those

connected with ethical life, health, recreation, citizenship, and home life, should also be definitely provided for in the program of our public schools. Vocational guidance is intimately related to all other activities of life, and aims to supplement other forms of guidance in order to foster the complete life of the individual.

## II. THE NEED FOR VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

3. Education is provided to enable pupils to understand their environment, and to extend, organize, and improve their individual and cooperative activities, and to prepare them for making more wisely the important decisions which they are called upon to make throughout life. Therefore schools and teachers can no longer neglect scientific guidance.

4. Vocational life occupies one-half of the waking time of active individuals and presents problems whose harmonious solution is essential for successful relationships in all fields of human activity. Much of the world's dissension today in ethical, political, international, and industrial affairs, is based upon lack of knowledge regarding duties and responsibilities in occupational relationships, and failure to synthesize individual and social activities in vocational life.

5. Vocational guidance, either good or bad, is inevitable. No one can avoid the need for making occupational decisions, and modern life necessitates the influence upon human behavior of contacts and cooperation. Unwise and false guidance is gained through untrustworthy advertisements, suggestions, selfishness, ignorance, and other unscientific sources, if vocational guidance is not provided under competent supervision.

## III. AIMS OF VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

6. The purposes of vocational guidance are:
- (a) To help adapt the schools to the needs of the pupils and the community, and to make sure that each child obtains the equality of opportunity which it is the duty of the public schools to provide.
  - (b) To assist individuals in choosing, preparing for, entering upon, and making progress in occupations.

- (c) To spread knowledge of the problems of the occupational world and the characteristics of the common occupations.
- (d) To help the worker to understand his relationships to workers in his own and other occupations and to society as a whole.
- (e) To secure better cooperation between the school on the one hand and the various commercial, industrial, and professional pursuits on the other hand.
- (f) To encourage the establishment of courses of study in all institutions of learning that will harmoniously combine the cultural and practical studies.

7. All vocational guidance should help to fit the individual for vocational self-guidance, and also for the cooperative solution of the problems of occupational life.

#### IV. FIRST STEPS IN GUIDANCE

8. The home and school programs should include a combination of play, handwork, cooperative activity, and academic work, the whole being varied enough to represent life's demands, and concrete enough to secure an effective response and successful accomplishment by each individual child.

9. On the basis of individual differences revealed in the social life of the child, progress in school subjects, and in standardized tests, children should be classified into schoolroom groups. All group classifications should be regarded as tentative, being largely for the purpose of efficient learning and teaching.

10. For all children before the school-leaving age there should be provided a wide variety of try-out experiences in academic and aesthetic work, gardening, simple processes with tools and machines, elementary commercial experiences, and cooperative pupil activities. Such try-out experiences are for the purpose of teaching efficiency in every-day tasks, broadening the social and occupational outlook of the children, and discovering to them and the teachers their interests and abilities. K

11. Teachers of all subjects in schools and colleges should make a definite effort to show the relationships of their work to occupational problems just as they now relate them to other phases



of life activity, such as the cultural, recreational, ethical, civic, and social.

12. Drifting through school is a common evil in all educational systems. The life-career motive, whether temporary or permanent, should be encouraged as one of the motives in the choice of a curriculum and of certain elective subjects within a curriculum.

13. The miscellaneous working experiences of children before and after school, on Saturdays, and in vacations should be studied and supervised. These experiences should be made to aid the child in understanding his environment and in discovering his vocational aptitudes and interests.

14. All forms of part-time education, such as the continuation school, cooperative courses, trade extension and trade preparatory courses, etc., should be provided in order that school and work may be brought into closer cooperation and that there may be more careful supervision of the child in employment.

## V. STUDYING THE OCCUPATIONS

15. Teachers, counselors, or investigators should be given time to study occupational needs and opportunities, or definitely appointed for that purpose, and should prepare information so obtained for use by teachers, pupils, and parents.

16. The class for the study of educational opportunities, common and local occupations, and the problems of the occupational world, should be carried on before the end of the compulsory school age. Such study should be provided for all students in junior high and high schools. It should give the pupil an acquaintance with the entire field of occupations, and a method of studying occupations wherewith he can meet future vocational problems in his life. The study of occupations should be offered in continuation schools, evening schools for adults and colleges.

## VI. STUDYING AND COUNSELING THE INDIVIDUAL

17. Counselors should interview individuals at regular intervals, particularly at such critical points as one year before the school-leaving age, promotion from one school to another, change of course, time of leaving school, times of problems connected with work.

Such counseling should include studies by case-work methods of the social life of each child and conferences with parents whenever practicable, in order to obtain intimate and scientific knowledge of the child's environment, interest, and behavior, and personal data regarding his problems. This opportunity for counsel and advice should be a regular responsibility of the school and should be open to persons of all ages. Special attention should be paid to adults whose guidance has been neglected, and to handicapped persons.

18. Tests of general intelligence should be used with the greatest care. No important decision should be made on the basis of a group test alone; special classifications and assignment of special curriculums should be made only after an individual examination by a carefully trained and experienced psychologist. Whenever time and facilities permit, occupational tests should also be used.

19. Cumulative records should be kept for individuals. These should include academic records, social conditions, physical and mental records, and the results of counseling.

20. Counselors should study the educational offerings of the community through its schools, museums, art galleries, libraries, etc., in order to enable children and adults to use these opportunities in preparation for a vocation or for further school or college training.

## VII. CHOOSING THE VOCATION

21. Occupations should be chosen with service to society as the basic consideration, and with personal satisfaction and remuneration as important secondary considerations.

22. Scientific vocational guidance should discourage and supplant any attempt to choose occupations by means of phrenology, physiognomy, or other disproved and unproved hypotheses.

23. Alluring short cuts to fortune, as represented by certain advertisements in current magazines and newspapers, should be condemned and supplanted by trustworthy information and frank discussions with children.

24. The choice of an adult occupation should not be made too early or too hurriedly and should be made by the person after his study of occupations and his try-out experiences. It should be an educational process by progressive elimination. Provision should

be made for reconsideration and rechoice. Care should be taken that the choice be made by the individual himself.

### VIII. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE IN RELATION TO VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

25. Vocational guidance must be provided before, during, and after courses in vocational education if these courses are to be truly effective. Students in vocational courses should be enrolled only after careful selection on the basis of fitness and well-considered choice.

26. In order that the aims of vocational guidance may be secured, we recommend to those in charge of vocational education that any plan of vocational education should include such basic studies as the economic and sociological aspects of occupations.

27. In accordance with the best practice among those in charge of vocational education, we favor plans by which vocational education and education for citizenship may be continued in factories, shops, and stores for the purpose of up-grading workers and enabling them to understand the problems of work and to make progress toward a better standard of living and a better organization of vocational life.

28. We recommend that adult education, both vocational and general, be provided through a variety of short-unit courses in day and evening schools.

### IX. SCHOOL LEAVING

29. Since investigations have shown that economic necessity is only a minor cause for leaving school at the end of the compulsory school age, those interested in vocational guidance should always insist that the school itself enter into a campaign to hold pupils by offering a more varied program suited to the individual needs of the children. Compulsory education laws and compulsory part-time schooling must be maintained, but along with these laws there must go a constant improvement in the program of studies and other activities of the school.

30. Means should be found, through either public or private funds, to provide scholarships for keeping deserving children in school, or for continuing schooling on a part-time arrangement.

## X. EMPLOYMENT

31. Placement should come only after a careful and persistent effort has been made to keep the child in school, and whenever possible should be in part-time work. Non-commercial and public employment agencies for persons under 21 years of age, should be conducted jointly with the local educational authorities and in the closest possible relation with the public schools. Placement and employment supervision should be accompanied by advice regarding opportunity for supplementary study and promotion. For the purposes of standardization and coordination, private non-commercial agencies for aiding persons to secure employment, or to transfer them to more suitable positions, should be under public supervision or control. Commercial employment bureaus, even under a licensing system, should be supplanted as rapidly as possible by public employment systems. Since adequate placement requires a large expenditure of time and money, care should be taken that this does not take the place of the more fundamental phases of vocational guidance.

32. Persons offering vocational guidance should cooperate with personnel managers, labor organizations, employers' associations, cooperative agencies, government officials, social and civic organizations, and others interested in problems of work.

33. School systems should undertake follow-up work and employment supervision, to extend throughout the time of the minority of the child and to be exercised in cooperation with the above-mentioned agencies.

## XI. ORGANIZATION FOR VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE

34. Central agencies required for vocational guidance and their functions will depend in large measure upon the size of the communities which they serve, and upon the existence of other organizations capable of rendering supplementary services. One teacher can handle the work in a small place, but large cities will require fully equipped bureaus for vocational guidance.

35. The central agency, whether one teacher or a bureau, should receive advice and assistance from a central board or council, from special research committees, and from counselors. The qualifications and duties of these cooperating groups should be as follows:



36. The central council should be composed of interested individuals or of representatives of other organizations whose activities relate them to the work of vocational guidance. It should assist in planning the vocational guidance activities adapted to the community, and should be helpful in enlisting the cooperation needed when gathering information or when making placements.

37. Research committees composed of persons qualified by experience and training should be organized to give assistance in solving such special problems as those connected with the guidance and protection of mentally or physically handicapped children, the assistance of foreigners who are adjusting themselves to American conditions, the promotion of the health of women workers, and the gathering of information needed for guidance in legislation.

✓ 38. Vocational counselors are needed in schools or other institutions whenever there are persons whose satisfactory guidance requires many individual conferences. Such counselors should have a good general education, and should be kept informed about local vocational opportunities and requirements. Whenever possible, persons appointed as counselors should be students of economics, industry, psychology, and sociology. Practical experience in various forms of social endeavor such as public school teaching, employment, and social case work, should be considered necessary elements of their training. They should keep in touch with scientific investigations and should themselves aim to make such contributions. They should be free from prejudice and should stand for right to discuss industrial questions with children, giving all sides a fair hearing.

39. Since vocational guidance must concern itself chiefly with young persons found in the public schools, and since such activities are related closely to the general economic welfare of the community, it is advisable that the agency undertaking this work should be a part of or closely affiliated with the publicly supported educational system. This will promote the coordination of vocational guidance activities with the work of attendance and certification officers, of persons giving physical and mental tests, and of persons engaged in developing means for supplying school children with vocational information and education. Public support and recognition also will make easier the coordination and cooperation of all agencies capable of contributions to activities which aim at an efficient utili-

zation of the available talents and working capacities of the community.

40. Every effort should be made to measure the results of vocational guidance in achieving the foregoing objectives and such others as future research may reveal.

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Some years ago Maurice Hewlett wrote an article which appeared in the "Nineteenth Century and After," in which he suggested that as England already had a bureau of standards where the standard inch, foot, yard, pound, gallon and bushel are kept, where reference to them may be made to correct the falseness and inaccuracy of the measures of commerce, she should also institute a bureau of social standards. Let a fine child be chosen, he said, and kept at Westminster and whenever bills are introduced in Parliament let those who propose them be required to take them to the fine child at Westminster and weigh them against him. If he falls in the scale, let the measure be rejected. If he rises, let it be approved. If we weighed social conditions in terms of the fine child, much that is proposed would have to be rejected and much that exists would have to be repaired. Yet he is the social standard. Our whole duty can be summed up in the effort to make of this world a fit place for him to live in. Take this standard into any city or into any country place and by its aid you will soon find conditions which cry aloud for remedy.—*Ernest Carroll Moore in "What the War Teaches About Education."*

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Undoubtedly the most serious problem of child labor to-day is that of agricultural work. The evil of a situation is not only positive, but negative—not only the conditions which it creates, but also the conditions which it denies. Rural child labor in vast areas of the United States to-day carries with it the virtual denial of education. In this country, which has proclaimed free and compulsory education to be the cornerstone and safeguard of democracy, one child out of every eight between the ages of ten and fifteen is gainfully employed in occupations entirely unregulated by State or Federal law. The vast majority of these children are engaged in some form of farm labor. The occupations in which they are working are not in themselves necessarily harmful, but the prohibitive cost of education which isolation implies, entails a rate of illiteracy which is a distinct social menace.—*Helen V. Bary in The North American Review for April, 1921.*

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The farmers today are employing their growing boys and girls to work for them instead of sending the children to school. As a result the prevalence of ignorance in our rural communities is appalling. We have certain laws forbidding children under a certain age to work in industrial plants, yet we have no laws forbidding children of any age working on farms.—*Archibald Webster, of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, Poor Richard Club Luncheon, March 25, 1921.*

# CHILD LABOR AND MENTAL HYGIENE\*

RAYMOND G. FULLER

Hysteria, we are told, is preeminently a disease of the unemployed or the aimlessly employed. The child laborer is the father of the shifting worker—the last to be hired and the first to be fired. Much is involved in child labor, whether in city or in country, that is unfavorable to mental health. The work of specialists in this field is affording the national child labor movement a fresh approach to the conservation of childhood.

The general popular conception of child labor is one that is still limited very largely to the physical and physiological aspects of the evil. Not only does it fail to place due emphasis on the indirect effects of child labor—the deprivation of play and of schooling—but it fails, as regards direct effects, to emphasize sufficiently the psychical side of the child labor experience. The physical effects have been uppermost in the public mind, possibly because they are more obvious and more easily understandable; moreover, the physician and the physiologist have had more to say about child labor than the psychologist and the psychiatrist. Nevertheless, the psychical effects are quite as numerous, and quite as much a menace to future happiness and efficiency, as the physical. Deformation of the person is not more terrible than deformation of the personality, and health of body not more to be esteemed than health of mind. The child has a mind, a nervous system, as well as a body, and it has to be remembered, too, that he is mentally as well as physically immature, and susceptible and plastic. The abolition of child labor and the establishment of its substitutes, particularly suitable schooling, suitable play, and suitable work, is a task of mental hygiene.

The nervous disorders and derangements in which child labor may be a contributing factor are of great variety. They range all

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\* Reprinted from the "Survey" of March 19, 1921.

the way from slight abnormalities to functional diseases in which the power of sight, or the use of arms or legs, has been lost. Of especial significance from our present standpoint are the so-called "neuroses of development," commonly described under such heads as chorea, dementia praecox, hysteria, psychasthenia. Chorea is a disease of childhood and dementia praecox of youth; but the roots of most functional disorders of adulthood, as of childhood and youth, are found in the early years. Most child laborers are in that particular period—early adolescence—when neurotic disturbances are peculiarly liable to appear and become seated.

Too little consideration is given to the tragedy and cost of preventable nervous disease. It is said that the growth of insanity in this country is outstripping that of population. The lesser mental ills, we are told on good authority, are increasing with even greater rapidity. The time of prevention is childhood, but we are doing to children what we should not do—making them men and women too soon. The mental hygienist as well as the modern educator knows that nature would have children be children before they are men and women.

Nature, instead of telling the child to grow and develop and instructing him in ways and means, endowed him with the play impulse. Play, as spontaneous, self-expressive activity, is always according to nature. It conforms at every moment of the child's life to the genetics of his growth and development. On the positive side, it reflects the neuro-muscular coordinations established at the time and establishes those that are ready to be formed. It reflects also the various instinctive tendencies (or many of them) as they ripen—and helps to ripen and strengthen them. In short, it obeys the self-finding and self-developing push within the child. On the negative side, it respects the limitations of the child as regards these neuro-muscular coordinations and psychic motives. In true play no movement is made or action performed ahead of its natural and normal time; there is no unreadiness of body or of mind for that movement or that action. Thus it fosters no prematurities or precocities of physical psychical or psycho-physical development. Its activities, being timely not only, but interesting, since interest and play are one and inseparable as body and soul, are without that defective psychic motivation so common to child labor and so favorable to cumulative fatigue, which in turn is favorable to the



inception of those dread diseases of personality, the neuroses and psychoses.

Child labor, in many of its forms, constitutes a repressive environment. It is no respecter of the instinctive needs, developmental demands, and natural interests and desires common to all normal children. It is no respecter of individuals and of their differences in interests, aptitudes, and abilities. It is often the case that free bodily movement is denied and that proper periods of relaxation are not given. Labor-saving devices in the factory have rendered work more sedentary, depriving the large, basal muscles of their due proportion of exercise and at the same time making an excessive demand for the fine and exact movements of the small, accessory muscles. What is true of adult workers, as industry has become more and more specialized, is true of children in their even more mechanical occupations. Personal initiative, personal responsibility, and personal interest in results have less and less opportunity to function. Constructiveness, self-assertiveness, sociality, playfulness—these instincts and desires are thwarted and balked in child labor, and on the farm as well as in the factory. For these and other reasons, much of the work of the child laborer is done with defective motivation. Sometimes it is motivated by fear. We find in child labor an involuntary servitude of children to purposes not their own and often beyond their real powers—a servitude in what to them is a foreign land, a doing of things which they cannot do. Lacking, of course, is that natural spontaneity and enthusiasm of childhood and youth upon which the symmetry of psychic life and growth depends.

Defectively motivated work—work that is done with psychic friction—probably leads directly to nervous disturbance and disorder, as well as indirectly through the fatigue it occasions. It produces emotional effects of some kind. It upsets emotional equilibrium to some extent. Something happens in consequence of the repressed instincts, thwarted interests, and balked desires of the child laborer. Surely this is true: If the child cannot do what he wants to do, what he is instinctively impelled to do, he can think—he can wish and dream in terms of his normal impulses. But his thought-life is denied the test of actual application. A cleavage comes between thinking and doing. Queer complexes are built up, manifesting themselves in queer behavior. Consider the play im-

pulse. It may have been weakened by child labor, so that the child does not consciously miss the absence of play. Nevertheless play is essential to the full integration of the personality. It is the secret of all progress in the individual and the race. Play is self-expression, and self-expression is growth, and growth is normal. The individual who does not play soon deteriorates because so few of his powers are used.

The psychical side of the child labor evil might be stated partly in terms of suggestibility. Children are more suggestible than adults. Fatigue enhances suggestibility. In child labor we have a combination of the two factors. Suggestibility and fatigue may become psychopathic, with consequences many and serious. Conditions which involve fatigue and particularly the cumulation of fatigue, which lower the general physical tone, which separate the child from his own natural society, which destroys self-confidence and initiative, which starve the instinct of workmanship instead of feeding it, which present an experience of repeated failure, which are marked by such concomitants as worry and fear, which fail to develop a rich fund of wholesome, objective interests, are conditions found in child labor and in the etiology of nervous diseases and personality disturbances of various sorts. Sanifying and prophylactic are interesting, fruitful work, well suited to the individual's powers, and plenty of play. Here we come upon the distinction between child labor and children's work (another name for suitable work), and upon the deprivation of play as one of the worst features of the child labor evil. It is incontrovertible that there would be less mental ill-health and deficiency among adults today if there had been in the past years less child labor and more childhood play.

The enormous child labor turnover has its own significance from the standpoint of mental hygiene. In considerable part it is doubtless due to the adolescent restlessness—this changing about from job to job—but other factors operate. The instincts, interests, and desires—such as those of initiative, constructiveness, curiosity—thwarted, it may have been, in school, are likely to be thwarted again in child labor. There is disappointment and disillusion, with usually no counsel to mitigate the shock or help the child to adjust himself to the new conditions; no aid is given toward the achievement of a normal outlook on life and work. The child tries one job after another, vainly seeking satisfaction or self-expression.

There is intermittent work and idleness. Under conditions such as these, of course, little is gained in the way of vocational training or of helpful discipline. Indeed, the result is quite otherwise in very many cases. Habits of vacillation, of change, and of failure are formed, leaving their marks in weakened will and character. Repeated failure in this period affects the mental health seriously and permanently, and with the child of neurotic constitution it is highly dangerous to mind and personality.

Not cities, nor city streets, nor factories are the true homes of childhood, but rather the fields and forests, the rivers among the hills and the shores of the sea. The city is a false environment for children, even the confining walls of the schoolhouse, but how much more so is the factory, with its manifold noises, its monotonies of noise, its rhythms false to nature! Other sounds and truer harmonies—the notes of birds, the singing of winds through the pines, the murmur and babble of brooks—these are a fitter environment, which, alas, we can now provide for many children only in abbreviated and vicarious ways. As of sounds, so of sights: views of the mighty ocean and of broad plains; sunrise and sunset; a bed of wild flowers; the colors of nature herself. As Hall, Curtis, Gulick, Patrick and others have been telling us in their discussions of play, the natural activities and proper environment of children go back to the activities and environment of primitive man—to simple, elemental things. So far as possible, we must enable children to lead the simple life and the life of play; we must mitigate for them, to the best of our ability, the stress and strain of urban life. But even in the country places, in the great original outdoors, children are growing up under conditions not in keeping with the needs and demands of their own natures.

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Ignorance is self-perpetuating. Poor schools may become endemic in a region. Nevertheless, the intelligent communities must submit to be governed in part by the representatives of the dark-minded districts. No wonder they resort to state compulsion or state financial aid to level up educational opportunities within the state and advocate Federal compulsion or Federal financial aid to level up within the nation. Nor is this tendency to nationalize education peculiarly American; it is, in fact, world wide. All progressive people are coming to feel that the child's schooling is too much a social concern to be left entirely to the discretion of the parents, or even of the local community.—*Edward A. Ross in "The Principles of Sociology."*



## ALICE IN THE NEWSPAPERS

"Well, in our country," said Alice, still panting a little, "you'd generally get to somewhere else, if you ran very fast for a long time as we've been doing."

"A slow sort of country!" said the Queen. "Now here, you see, it takes all the running you can do to keep in the same place."—From *"Through The Looking-Glass"* by Lewis Carroll.

### FROM PENNSYLVANIA

"Announcing that business conditions do not warrant the further operation of continuation schools for school children between the ages of 14 and 16 years, Representative James A. Dunn of a big industrial section of Philadelphia gave notice today that he will offer a measure . . . seeking to abolish this important feature of the school code. . . . At the same time Dunn expressed the belief that *14-year old children who have reached the eighth grade are sufficiently equipped from an educational standpoint* and consequently he believes it unnecessary that the law should require they spend one day a week in school with a consequent loss of wages."—*Pittsburgh (Pa.) Dispatch*.

### AND MASSACHUSETTS

"Unquestionably there are many children who would be better off to be allowed to remain in school to their sixteenth year. There are others who would be better off in steady employment. Besides these is the class whose earnings are actually essential to the support of their families. Nobody who is interested in child life would willingly deprive the young of any of its advantages. In the present discussion, however, the question arises whether we have not already



reached the point in compulsory school age where the decision of future attendance at school in preference to accepting steady work cannot safely be left to parents."—*Fall River (Mass.) Herald*.

#### THE PARENTS' REPLY

"The other day a backwoods planter in Georgia burned down the rural schoolhouse so that his children could not be compelled to attend when he wanted them to work on the farm."—*Pittsburgh (Pa.) Leader*.

#### AS TO JUVENILE COURTS

"Juvenile courts, as administered, are doing much greater harm than good. It is notable that many of the most startling crimes of today are committed by very young men. These are boys who ten years ago were being put on probation, paroled and given suspended sentences and the like by a lot of well meaning, soft hearted visionaries. . . . For offenders in crimes involving unprovoked personal violence for the purpose of robbery there should be no clemency, no mercy, no probation, and no suspended or commuted sentences either for the first offence or otherwise. . . . The best remedy for the crime wave is to substitute a little old-fashioned, garden variety, horse sense for the drooling and maudlin sentimentality which appears to have fastened itself on us."—*Dr. Frank H. Campbell in the Washington (D. C.) Herald*.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS

"For why you call my boy a poor nut?" queried an indignant mother who confronted the dietitian of a New Jersey charities association the other morning at her office door. And the latter has not yet found a way of convincing Mrs. Caruso that "poor nut" on the face of Angelo's card stands for poor nutrition.—*Survey*.

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Thus the system continues: industry offers to children the bribe of a premature economic independence in order to tempt them to tasks that will lower the level of their whole future lives, both as wage-earners and as citizens.—*Janus, in the Contemporary Review, February, 1921*.

# CIVILIZED

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## I

All day long  
We followed the trails  
On the high ridges  
Looking far down  
On the ribbon roads  
And the quiet towns  
Of the hills—  
Till, just as evening fell,  
We dropped  
To the misty valley  
And found our ferryboat  
On the tossing waves  
Of the bay.  
So  
We came to the city,  
And as we came  
There flashed  
Out of the purple dusk  
Of the nearing shore  
GOLDEN LIGHTS  
HIGH  
On the dark heavens,  
Announcing  
Somebody's OATS  
And somebody's PICKLES,  
And thus I knew  
We were reaching  
CIVILIZATION!

## II

I do not know  
If the people under those lights  
Are HAPPIER  
Than savages.  
I do not know  
If they have learned  
To be KINDER.  
I do not know  
If they love BEAUTY  
And JUSTICE,  
And little CHILDREN  
MORE  
Than the redmen did  
When they camped  
On these shores.  
If they are wiser  
In LIVING,  
But I know  
They are CIVILIZED!  
For they have learned to take  
The lightning of heaven  
And the wild waters  
Rushing down mountains  
And make of them  
SIGNS  
For the selling of pickles!

*By "Anise" in the Sacramento Tribune.*



## BOOK SHELF

**ROADS TO CHILDHOOD, Views and Reviews of Children's Books.** Annie Carroll Moore. New York: George H. Doran Company.

An exceedingly sympathetic discussion of an important but disregarded subject is this book by one of the pioneers in our Public Library work with children. The author makes use of her own personal experiences to illustrate the fact that the favorite children's books of the past and present are those that realize the needs and desires of children, and that "dreams, fancies, humor, which are the natural heritage of childhood, are at the foundation of what is beautiful and poetical in literature, art and human experience."

Besides being valuable for its many practical suggestions about books children really enjoy—a serious matter which is so rarely appreciated by many grown-up donors—her book has a most delightful way of whisking its readers back to the days when their own world was full of adventures and fairies, and heroic deeds were merely a question of opportunity. It is a book with a charm that makes it thoroughly enjoyable as well as worth while.

H. B. S.

**CHARACTER TRAINING IN CHILDHOOD.** Mary S. Haviland. Boston: Small, Maynard & Co.

A popular treatment of scientific material, this book is intended more for pleasantly educational reading than for intensive study. It is evidently written by one who is most sincere in her interest in her subject and shows the keen insight of a woman who vividly remembers her own childhood. Miss Haviland dedicates her work "To the Fathers and Mothers of America, to whom is entrusted the task of moulding their country's future through moulding her citizens." From prenatal care to the force of religion in the life of the maturing boy or girl, the book touches lightly on each step of development—nourishment, habits, play, work, education, self-expression, control, the dangerous days of adolescence and the power of environing home-life to make for strength. Although written primarily for parents, any trainer of children would lay the book down more thoughtful of the task in hand, more comprehensive of the child's way of looking at things, more understanding, altogether, of the duty of preparedness in the upbringing of a child-citizen.

H. B. S.

**THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDER AND HIS HOMELAND.** John C. Campbell. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, Publication Department. Price \$3.50.

To be reviewed in the August issue.

**PRINCIPLES OF LABOR LEGISLATION.** John R. Commons and John B. Andrews. New York: Harper and Brothers. \$2.75.

The publication of this revised and up-to-date edition of the "Principles of Labor Legislation" should be welcomed by all students and workers in the social welfare field. No other book takes its place and its place is important. It is a book of legislative practice as well as of legislative theory, with descriptions of foreign as well as of American practice.

**THE NATION AND THE SCHOOLS.** John A. H. Keith and William C. Bagley. New York: The Macmillan Company.

This, in the words of the subtitle, is "A Study in the Application of the Principle of Federal Aid to Education in the United States." It is really a brief for the Smith-Towner bill—"a collection of fact and argument designed to show that the Nation is, in a very real sense, an educational unit, that the Federal Government should assume a fair proportion of the cost of maintaining schools throughout the country, and that there should be established in Washington an adequate agency through which the educational needs of the Nation as a Nation may be made vocal."

**JUNIOR WAGE EARNERS.** Anna Y. Reed. New York: Macmillan Company.

Reserved for review in later issue.

**WHAT THE WAR TEACHES ABOUT EDUCATION.** Ernest Carroll Moore. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$1.40.

This is a collection of varied addresses and papers on educational topics. It really is not a war book, despite its title; the war comes in for illustrative purposes—importantly but incidentally. Such subjects as "Contemporary Ideals in Education" and "The Child in Modern Society" are discussed. There are several discussions of the "transfer of training" fallacy. The practicalization of the school curriculum receives considerable attention and there is an address on religious education.

**THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION.** George T. W. Patrick. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.

The reviewer cannot help feeling a little sorry for anyone who has not read, or is not going to read, Professor Patrick's stimulating volume, "The Psychology



of Social Reconstruction." Professor Patrick does not attempt to solve the social problem, even on paper, but he does show the factors in human nature which must be considered in any practicable scheme looking toward a better civilization. After listing proposed programs such as Syndicalism, Communism, Bolshevism, Anarchism, the I. W. W., the Non-Partisan League, Social Democracy, Collectivism, Cooperation, Industrial Democracy, Socialism, Votes for Women, Feminism, Prohibition, the Single Tax, and the League of Nations, he goes on to say: "The trouble is that all of these social re-organization plans have been worked out too largely from the political and economic standpoint rather than from the psychological standpoint." "It will be well," he says, "to build our house of civilization to fit the man who is to live in it."

A few quotations will serve to indicate Professor Patrick's thought. "Man's original nature cannot be changed very much in the years to come as we measure time, but his instincts, so far as they seem to us bad, may be redirected and sublimated, and so far as they are good we may use all our efforts to conserve or create a social order that is in harmony with them. The method of repression is fraught with danger." "The real menace to our future happiness is not poverty, slavery, tyranny, oppression, and inequality. These things, like the idle rich, are of course an offense to our age and will steadily be eliminated. But the real dangers of the future are the mediocrity and stagnation which would ultimately fall upon the mere increase of wealth and its even distribution. This would be to settle upon all classes of society the devitalizing and enervating effects of mere comforts, conveniences, luxuries, and leisure. What we have to do is to find a social order which shall save all classes from the deadening influences of wealth and leisure, and which shall give so much scope to basic human interests and instincts as shall redeem our new world from becoming stale and uninteresting. This new social order will not come by sudden revolution, but by education and patient effort." "Some future period may smile at our childlike devotion to liberty, equality, and fraternity, or self-expression, or the full, free, and abundant life, to the neglect of many other equally important ideas. In all our discussion now about social reconstruction and a new social order, is it not a little peculiar that the ideas which we are trying so hard to realize in this new social order—liberty, equality, efficiency, opportunity, self-expression, and self-determination—are just the ones that already mark this period when compared with other past periods and past civilizations? We may be deficient in these virtues, but we have them in profuse abundance as compared with other times, and we have them in excess as compared with other virtues, such as love of beauty and of symmetry, proportion, moderation, measure, and limitation of desires. Is it safe to enter so passionately upon the remodeling of our social institutions with our eyes fixed so exclusively upon any one circle of ideas?" "What is lacking in all these forms of self-expression is the 'inner check,' the motive of restraint and reserve, the discipline of the wise man who looks beyond the present. In Platonic phrase, it is 'justice,' the justice which the young man owes to his coming years, the justice which each generation owes to the next, the justice which each individual owes to society. Every young man is free to live the full and abundant life up to the point of not infringing upon the strength and integrity of his coming manhood. Every gen-

eration is free to live the full and abundant life up to the point of not infringing upon the health and happiness of the next generation. Every individual is free to live the full and abundant life up to the point of not infringing upon the full and abundant life of all the others in the group." "Possibly there is a higher kind of self-realization than that found through self-expression. Self-realization may indeed be the highest goal of human endeavor, but the self to be realized may be the larger self of our collective being, including succeeding generations."

**COURTIS STANDARD PRACTICE TESTS IN HANDWRITING.** Stuart A. Courtis and Lena A. Shaw. Specimen Set, 50 cents postpaid. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company.

These tests start out to win the confidence of educators with all the advantage of the reputation of the Courtis Tests in Arithmetic.

**OUR SOUTHERN HIGHLANDERS.** Horace Kephart. New York: Macmillan Company, \$2.50.

This new edition of Mr. Kephart's classic description of life in the Southern Highlands should be welcomed. Mr. Kephart knows well the Appalachian country and its people, and his book may properly be called "as interesting as a novel." It is no more interesting, however, than it is authoritative. The book is a valuable contribution to sociology, yet is full of color, incident, and folks. The volume is profusely and beautifully illustrated with photographs.

Though Mr. Kephart is very little given to discussion, he concludes with the following paragraph: "The great need of our mountaineers today is trained leaders of their own. The future of Appalachia lies mostly in the hands of those resolute native boys and girls who win the education fitting them for such leadership. Here is where the nation at large is summoned by a solemn duty. And it should act quickly, because commercialism exploits and debauches quickly. But the schools needed here are not ordinary graded schools. They should be vocational schools that will turn out good farmers, good mechanics, good housewives. Meantime let a model farm be established in every mountain county showing how to get the most out of mountain land. Such object lessons would speedily work an economic revolution. It is an economic problem, fundamentally, that the mountaineer has to face."

**THE COMMUNITY HEALTH PROBLEM.** Athel C. Burnham, M.D. New York City: The Macmillan Company.

There is great need of understanding how the common man may obtain scientific medical care without the delay and neglect which lead all too frequently to poverty as well as serious physical handicaps. We have not found a way to overcome the prevalent blighting effect of ignorance and superstition

as regards maintaining good health. The technique of obtaining community support and cooperation for those public-health activities which are of proved value deserves our most serious consideration. This little book presents, in well-arranged form, a discussion of a number of movements which are honestly facing these difficult problems. Dr. Burnham impresses us that we have too long neglected the economics of public health. Economics is so inseparably linked up with the health problem that the economic phases should be worked out as carefully as the bacteriological ones. Dr. Burnham presents material from various studies to show the need for more and better community health service. He discusses the relation of sickness to poverty and the relation of the private physician to sickness.

After some discussion of the campaign for better health, of health departments and of the various activities of public health nurses, he plunges into the mooted questions of health insurance and state medicine. The reviewer would venture to suggest that at the present time it is not so important that the reader agrees that either of these plans for extending medical service is practicable or advisable as that every intelligent person study the economic and social problems involved in our failure to make our present knowledge as to the cause and treatment of disease available and applicable to our whole population. Dr. Burnham discusses the effect of workmen's compensation. He presents a statement of good public health practice in industry, and the good features of Health Centers, the Social Unit Experiment, and much which has been learned through endowed health demonstrations. His discussion of rehabilitation of the disabled and of the medical and after-care of the tuberculous gives further appreciation of the economics of the health problem.

This book should certainly be read by economists, social workers and physicians. The problems discussed must have wider publicity and more thorough study. The present individualistic practice of medicine must give way for more group medicine, and this will not be accomplished through a *laissez faire* policy nor through fear of health insurance and state medicine. Thought-provoking discussion, probably some experimentation and most certainly the earnest cooperation of the medical profession are essential to a course which will mean progress. More books on this order and more discussion will promote intelligent public opinion.

H. H. M.

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The mediaeval church taught the children of the common people what was essential to salvation, but had no idea of educating them to rise in life. The state at first institutes universities to provide it with trained servants, but as it gains in social purpose it pushes general education. In fact, the spirit of a government may very well be gauged by noting its policy with reference to the different grades of education. If it is generous in elementary schools but stingy in high schools, it reflects the ideas of the comfortable classes, who can pay tuition. Only when it opens an educational path to the summit for every youth able to climb the Parnassian steep is it in the way of democratizing knowledge.—Edward A Ross in "*The Principles of Sociology*."



# NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

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## How and When Organized

The National Child Labor Committee was organized April 15, 1904, and incorporated by Act of Congress, February 21, 1907. It owes its origin to the coming together of several men and women who, in different parts of the country, had been aroused by what they had seen of child labor in some of its worst forms, and to the publication of census figures showing the great extent of the evil.

## General Aims

The object of the Committee is to safeguard American childhood as affected by industrial and agricultural conditions. The enactment and enforcement of progressive legislation and the development of enlightened public opinion are essential features of the Committee's policy. The Committee's effort goes beyond legislation—it goes beyond prohibition to all practicable means and methods of prevention, some of which require legislation and some of which do not. The Committee is vitally interested in the whole problem of premature school-leaving. It is interested, as well, in the establishment of the substitutes for child labor, particularly suitable schooling, suitable play and suitable work—and in this both as a method and as a goal of child labor reform. Not an unoccupied but a well occupied childhood is its aim.

## Specific Services

The legislative program of the Committee is chiefly concerned with child labor laws, compulsory education laws, mothers' pension



laws, and so-called Children's Codes. Items in the program may be listed as follows: Better child labor laws, better enforced; better school attendance laws, better enforced; better schools with stronger holding power of their own; vocational training, guidance, and placement; health supervision of the child in school and at work; physical examination of applicants for working papers; provision of public recreation facilities for children; children's scholarships, mothers' pensions, and other means of relieving and preventing poverty; all children under 16 in school on full time; all children between 16 and 18 in part-time or continuation schools if not attending school on full time. Throughout its existence the Committee has emphasized the necessity of efficient administration. In the last few years it has devoted much attention to the Children's Code, which represents the attempt, in a given state, to standardize and coordinate the laws and administrative agencies having to do with children and to supply laws and agencies covering aspects of child welfare that have been neglected in the statutes.

The National Child Labor Committee from its inception has based its work on first hand knowledge gained through investigation of the particular phase of child labor under discussion. Such investigations were at first, of necessity, on a small scale, and devoted to a specific issue. Today the Committee has a large staff of trained investigators whose services are placed at the disposal of any community desirous of discovering the truth about itself as regards child welfare in all its numerous and interrelated aspects. Several states have taken advantage of this service, and in cooperation with both public and private agencies, the Committee has made a number of state-wide child welfare studies. These surveys cover such subjects as Public Health, Education, Dependency, Juvenile Delinquency, Institutions, Recreation, Child Labor, Agriculture, Rural Life, and Law and Administration.

### **Territory Covered**

The Committee deals with the child labor problem as a local community problem, as a state problem, and as a national problem. It works throughout the United States.

### **How Individuals or Communities May Secure Service**

By application to the National Child Labor Committee, 105 East 22d Street, New York City.

### **Publications Available for Distribution**

The Committee publishes the *AMERICAN CHILD*, a quarterly magazine of general child welfare. It also publishes various pamphlets and reports, including reports of its State child welfare studies.

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**IF YOU BELIEVE IN THE WORK  
THAT THE NATIONAL CHILD  
LABOR COMMITTEE IS DOING  
YOU WILL SECURE AT LEAST  
ONE NEW MEMBER THIS YEAR  
WHEN WE NEED NEW MEMBERS  
MORE THAN EVER BEFORE**

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## STATE CHILD WELFARE STUDIES

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By making comprehensive studies, on a statewide basis, of child welfare conditions and problems, the National Child Labor Committee is rendering well recognized service in the Children's Code movement.

The purpose of a children's code is to standardise and to co-ordinate the laws and administrative agencies relating to children and to supply laws and administrative agencies covering aspects of child welfare that have been neglected in the statutes. This, of course, is far more than a mere process of simplification—far more than rearrangement for ready reference. A general code deals with laws already passed, while a children's code deals with boys and girls, their interests, and the conditions that affect them. The one is merely the arrangement of laws in orderly sequence so as to facilitate the use of the statute books; the other is legislative social service whose object is to enrich and to make secure the realm of childhood.—*Edward N. Clopper.*

The studies of the National Child Labor Committee lay the informational foundation for revision and standardization of the child welfare laws of a state. In Tennessee the study covered the following subjects:

- |                             |                       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. The Child and the State. | 6. Rural Life.        |
| 2. Health.                  | 7. Juvenile Courts.   |
| 3. Schools.                 | 8. Mothers' Pensions. |
| 4. Recreation.              | 9. Institutions.      |
| 5. Child Labor.             | 10. Home Finding.     |

These studies are made by a staff of specialists and always at the invitation of public-spirited citizens or social agencies within the state where the work is to be done.

### PUBLISHED REPORTS

Child Welfare in Oklahoma.....\$ .75	Child Welfare in Kentucky.....\$1.25
Child Welfare in Alabama.....\$1.00	Child Welfare in Tennessee.....\$1.50
Child Welfare in North Carolina.\$1.00	

These volumes should be in every library containing works on sociology and economics. They are of special value to social workers, clergymen, educators, journalists, legislators and administrators everywhere.

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HAS YOUR STATE HAD A CHILD WELFARE SURVEY?

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### National Child Labor Committee

Incorporated to promote the interests of children  
105 EAST 22D STREET  
NEW YORK CITY



# National Child Labor Committee

Incorporated to promote the interests of children

105 East 22d Street, New York City

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SEP 18 1921

# The American Child

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF GENERAL CHILD WELFARE

AUGUST, 1921

CHILD LABOR IN WEST VIRGINIA:  
A REPORT

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SIXTEENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
ON CHILD LABOR: PROCEEDINGS

PUBLISHED BY THE

**National Child Labor Committee**

*Incorporated to promote the interests of children*

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FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME  
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**DAVID FRANKLIN HOUSTON**  
**CHAIRMAN, NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE**

# The American Child

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Volume Three  
Number Two

AUGUST, 1921

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## SIXTEENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILD LABOR

### CHILD LABOR IN WEST VIRGINIA: A REPORT

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105 EAST 22D STREET, NEW YORK CITY

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## BEGINNING WHERE WE DON'T LEAVE OFF

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We regret to announce the resignation of Dr. Felix Adler as chairman of the Board of Trustees of the National Child Labor Committee. It is gratifying, however, to be able to announce that an invitation to "carry on" in Dr. Adler's place has been accepted by David Franklin Houston, whose portrait is the frontispiece of this magazine.

Dr. Adler has not left us, but will remain as member emeritus of the board. We shall still have his personal inspiration, counsel and aid. Not only that, but his years of work as chairman are a treasured possession of us all. Our future achievement in behalf of the boys and girls of America must be built upon the past achievement so largely due to his sympathy, vision, and effectualizing ability.

A philosopher of the first rank, Dr. Adler has shown himself, in his great variety of activities, a practical servant of mankind. The New York Society for Ethical Culture, and its remarkable school for children, are monuments to his genius for understanding and supplying the human needs of people. To Dr. Adler children as well as grown-ups are people.

He was one of the first to hear the country-wide appeal of the child laborers of America. He was one of the first to see the need for country-wide organization in order effectually to combat the greed, and prejudice, and ignorance, and indifference behind the exploitation of children. He that had ears, heard; and he that had eyes, saw; and with head and heart and hand allied he went to work. He has not only stimulated a high idealism in the Committee's methods of propaganda but under the direction of his practical leadership an organization of over 15,000 members has been developed and the work itself is carried on by a group of department directors and special agents, each highly trained in the branch of the work assigned to him. The Committee has also developed the most intimate and friendly relations with such other agencies in the field of social welfare as are connected with children,

so as to avoid wasteful duplication and promote the most economical efficiency.

We have been working with Dr. Adler now for seventeen years. No one knows better than he that the task is far from completion, in amount if not in time; but all of us know better than he how deeply in debt to him are the children of America today and the children of unnumbered generations to come.

They have been fruitful years—these seventeen—since Dr. Adler helped found the National Child Labor Committee and during which he has served continuously as chairman. Every State in the Union has a child labor law and compulsory school attendance law of some sort. “Of some sort”—it is still our business to work for their improvement and their better enforcement. Progress has been made in the provision of relief for poor families and dependent children—but much remains to be done. The Committee has taken a leading part in the movement for standardizing and coordinating all the laws of a state relating to children and establishing adequate administration—the so-called “Children’s Code” movement—but hardly more than a good beginning has been made. In all these lines of effort, which we shall continue, the Committee has remained true to its original purpose, the abolition of child labor; for positive and constructive measures, touching at some point every department of child welfare, have been found necessary to the attainment of that primary purpose.

There is more to be done than has yet been done to end child labor in factories and cities, but as Dr. Adler said a year ago at the National Conference of Social Work, the next great task of the Committee, no longer to be neglected, “should be to give our assiduous attention to child labor in agriculture.” The Sixteenth National Conference on Child Labor, held under the auspices of this Committee at Milwaukee last June, was a conference on rural child labor. Here, after all, is to be found the bulk of the child exploitation and neglect in America.

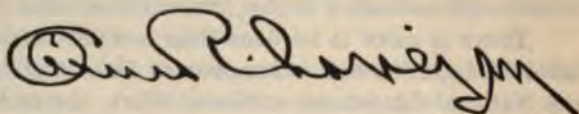
No fitter choice for chairman of the Committee as we enter upon this “next great task” could have been made than was made in the selection of Mr. Houston, a profound and sympathetic student of country life in all its aspects and an authority upon its manifold social and economic problems. Mr. Houston’s public career is well known. He was secretary of agriculture in President



Wilson's cabinet, 1913-1920, and secretary of the treasury, 1920-1921. He has been active in educational affairs throughout his life and in the promotion of social welfare generally. He has been a teacher and school superintendent, a college professor in political and social science; president of the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas; dean and later president of the University of Texas; chancellor of Washington University; chairman of the Federal Board for Vocational Education; chairman of the Farm Loan Board; member of numerous official commissions; and a writer of force and distinction on historical, economic and financial topics.

He was born in Monroe, Union County, North Carolina, in 1866; received the degree of Bachelor of Arts from South Carolina College, and of Master of Arts from Harvard. The degree of Doctor of Laws has been conferred upon him by seven different colleges and universities, including Harvard, Yale and the University of Wisconsin.

Mr. Houston says he looks upon his work with the National Child Labor Committee as presenting a great opportunity. It is the same opportunity that is shared by every member of the organization. Shoulder to shoulder with Mr. Houston let us all prove equal to the opportunity which is ours today.



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#### A MESSAGE FROM DR. FELIX ADLER

The remorseless edge of greed cuts to the quick into the lives of little children. It destroys the finer human potentials in the next generation. It is, in truth, but one symptom of the money-madness that threatens to wreck civilization, but reveals the evil in all its nakedness.

The crying need of our time, as no one gainsays, is a more general and complete respect for the human factor in industry. The extreme lengths to which reckless disregard of the human factor can go, the disastrous consequences to which it leads, glaringly appear in the abuse of child labor. At this point, therefore, a halt can be called and pity for the defenseless victims, and a sense of the immense future interests at stake, will serve to support efforts in this direction, and awaken the public conscience.

The National Child Labor Committee has set itself this great task. It is a militant and a constructive organization. It seeks to put an end to the national disgrace of child mistreatment, and at the same time to promote every enterprise that looks toward a wiser and more efficient education of our youth. It has already taken thousands of children out of the mills. It is now concentrating its attention upon the larger task that remains, that of securing freedom and better conditions for the children who labor on the farms. The most progressive farm organizations heartily favor this beneficent undertaking, but the active co-operation of our entire citizenry is demanded if the work shall be carried to a successful conclusion.

After seventeen years as Chairman of the National Committee, I now retire, and my last official word is an eager appeal for the nationwide support of my successor and the Committee in their patriotic and humanitarian labors.

FELIX ADLER.

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## THE MANNER AND METHOD OF A GREAT SERVICE

Dr. Adler's Chairmanship of the National Child Labor Committee has given it a standing which has silenced criticism in advance. It has given a well-nigh universal and continuous confidence in the wisdom of the purposes and the fairness of the methods of the organization. To this is to be attributed in large degree the very remarkable fact that though it has dealt with a most conten-



tious subject and has had to promote legislation opposed by strong influences, in the legislatures of many states and finally in Congress, neither the methods nor the purposes of the Committee have ever been seriously criticized. Such could not possibly have been the case under a leader who could ever be thought of as becoming the partisan rather than the scrupulous investigator and the patient and absolutely just appraiser of facts. The Committee's case was always morally won in advance by reason of this method of approach, which so perfectly expressed the spirit and attitude of its chairman.

In Committee and Board meetings Dr. Adler always stood for the same method; always resisting the short cut resort; always insisting in getting all the facts set forth, and in eliciting a real group judgment on the essential points involved. The National Child Labor Committee has raised the standards of the equipment for life of multitudes of children. It has been able to do so largely because Dr. Adler's spirit and methods are so wholly in line with sound methods of progress in a democratic country.

HOMER FOLKS, *Vice-Chairman*,  
National Child Labor Committee.

## NEWS FROM THE CHILD WELFARE FIELD

### Rural Children and Rural Schools

The *Journal of Educational Research* contains a brief report of "A Comparative Study, by Educational Measurements, of One-Room Rural School Children and City School Children," by J. Crosby Chapman of Yale University and H. L. Eby of the University of California. The nature of the problem is stated as follows:

A great deal has been written on the relative advantages of rural and city schools. Certain merits of the former have been emphasized in what at time appears to be an attempt to prove that the individual instruction of the ungraded school compensates for the greater proportion of time spent in teaching and the general superiority of instruction in the city schools. However great may be the desire to establish the claim that there is equality of opportunity for pupils of both schools, the only proof of it rests upon a careful comparison of the work of typical schools of each group.

The results of the study are thus summarized: "An unselected group of 71 children from one-room one-teacher rural schools, ages distributed from 11 to 13 years, in northern Ohio, was compared with a similar group of children in an average large city (Cleveland) school by administering nine psychological and educational tests. In the tests of abilities which are relatively independent of school training—namely, cancellation, substitution, opposites, and spelling, there were but small differences in the attainments of the two groups; but in the remainder of the tests—namely; writing, information, addition, hard directions, and composition—the rural children were notably inferior. The inferiority seems to be directly proportional to the extent that the tested function is complex and school-conditioned. In addition and composition the inferiority was that of two to two and one-half years. The variability of rural-school

children was slightly greater than that of city-school children in tests independent of school training and much greater in tests dependent on school training."

---

### Health Protection for Young Workers

Children who go to work between 14 and 18 years of age need special protection if they are to reach manhood and womanhood with good health and well-developed bodies. The United States Children's Bureau has just issued a report called "Physical Standards for Working Children" in which a committee of eleven physicians appointed by the Children's Bureau explain how the health of children at work may be protected.

An effective means of protection lies in the adoption of physical standards which all children entering industry are required by law to meet. Eighteen states now have a law requiring children to be examined before going to work. These states are: Alabama, Arizona, California, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and West Virginia. The most comprehensive of these laws requires that a child shall be of normal development for his age, in sound health and physically fit for the occupation which he is about to enter. But unless examining physicians have definite standards by which to test development and sound health, under-developed and physically defective children are likely to go to work early to their own serious disadvantage, in spite of excellent laws intended for their protection. The committee, therefore, has undertaken to define what constitutes normal development and sound health for children applying for working papers.

The report of the committee contains minimum standards of height and weight for specified ages, based on the most trustworthy experience and present-day practice. It also lists defects for which children should be refused certificates, remediable defects for which they should be refused certificates pending correction, and conditions requiring supervision under which provisional certificates for periods of three months may be issued. The points which examining physicians should cover if adequate protection is to be given



the working child are given in detail in the report, which also contains a record blank for the use of physicians in making these examinations. Periodical examinations for children after they have gone to work are recommended by the committee as a still further means of protection. As yet no state has taken this step, though an exceptionally good opportunity for putting into effect an adequate program of health supervision, says the report, is furnished by the compulsory continuation-school laws now in force in 22 states.

The members of the committee responsible for the report are: Dr. George P. Barth, Director of School Hygiene, City Health Department, Milwaukee, Wis., Chairman; Dr. Emma M. Appel, Employment Certificate Department, Chicago Board of Education; Dr. S. Josephine Baker, Chief, Bureau of Child Hygiene, Department of Health, New York City; Dr. Taliaferro Clark, representing the United States Public Health Service; Dr. C. Ward Crampton, Dean, Normal School of Physical Education, Battle Creek, Mich.; Dr. D. L. Edsall, Dean, Harvard Medical School; Dr. George W. Goler, Health Officer, Rochester, N. Y.; Dr. Harry Lindenthal, Director of Industrial Clinic, Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, Mass.; Dr. H. H. Mitchell, representing the National Child Labor Committee; Dr. Anna E. Rude, Director, Hygiene Division, United States Children's Bureau; Dr. Thomas D. Wood, Chairman of Committee on Health Problems and Education, Columbia University; Miss E. N. Matthews, Director, Industrial Division, United States Children's Bureau, Secretary.

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### **Part-Time Schools for Working Children**

One of the most progressive of the recent movements in compulsory education has been the passage by many states of continuation school laws, which afford a child who has left school for employment opportunity for further education by providing part-time compulsory schooling for a specified number of hours each week. Some of these laws apply also to unemployed children or to children who are no longer subject to day-school attendance requirements. A brief analysis of the continuation and evening school laws of each state, as well as those prescribing day-school attendance, is shown in a chart recently issued by the Federal Children's Bureau,



entitled "State Compulsory School Attendance Standards Affecting the Employment of Minors, January 1, 1921."

This chart shows that 22 states now have compulsory provisions for continuation school attendance. In 3 of these states, however, the establishment of such schools is not compulsory, and in 1, the school authorities are merely empowered, not compelled, to establish part-time schools and to require attendance. The age limit to which the compulsory attendance provisions apply varies, 10 states requiring attendance up to 18 years of age, 1 state up to 17, and 11 states up to 16. The amount of attendance is from 4 to 8 hours weekly; the laws of each state either specify or imply that this period shall be counted as part of the child's legal working hours. In 8 states, the law permits no exemptions; in the other states, the exemptions vary, 3 excusing a child who has completed the eighth grade. Only 12 states now provide for evening school attendance, the progress which has been made in day and continuation school laws having obviated this need to a great extent, at least for children under 16. In most of these states, the law covers only minors over 16 who can not speak, read, or write English with specified proficiency, in 1 state applying to aliens only. As in the continuation school laws, the attendance requirement varies, some states having only a general requirement of "regular attendance," others specifying an attendance of from four to eight hours weekly.

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### Home Care for Dependent Children

Conditions occasioning the removal of children from their homes and measures by which family care may be preserved are discussed in a report entitled "Children Deprived of Parental Care," recently issued by the U. S. Department of Labor through the Children's Bureau. This report presents the experiences of 513 children taken under care by Delaware agencies and institutions during a two-year period. At least half these children had both parents living, and only 3 per cent were full orphans. In one case out of every five, delinquency on the part of parents or guardians was the cause of the child's removal. Inability of parents or guardians longer to care for the child occasioned the removal of almost one-fourth. Delinquency on the part of the child was given as the

immediate cause for somewhat more than two-fifths of the removals. For 10 per cent of the children studied it appears that the developmental advantages of normal home life might have been preserved had financial assistance in the home been available. Nowhere in the state, at the time of the survey, was suitable care to be had for subnormal children, who constituted 11 per cent of the group. A beginning toward such provision has subsequently been made. Only 17 per cent of the children were placed in private families, the other 83 per cent being placed in institutions. This circumstance is especially surprising inasmuch as home-finding agencies of other states have placed large numbers of dependent children in Delaware.

Such measures as a state probation system, mothers' pensions, and placing-out and boarding-out under proper supervision, are recommended in the report as means for correcting in part the social wastage originating in child neglect. Delaware has begun a carefully considered forward movement since the inquiry was made. Fundamental improvement can come only in the slow but sure development of standards of family life based upon wise educational, economic, and civic policies.

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### **New Legislation**

Encouraging reports are still coming in from the various states. Indiana has passed a new child labor and compulsory education law and now ranks among the most progressive states in this respect. Massachusetts has extended the scope of its employment certificate law for children under 16 and for minors 16 to 21; has amended its street trade law with regard to night work; and has established an 8-hour day, and a 6 day or 48-hour week for children under 16. South Dakota and Nebraska have both raised the compulsory education age and Nebraska has also provided for a minimum school term of 9 months for both city and country, and now requires all unemployed children to be in school for full time work unless they have completed the high school course. Nevada has also raised its school age and has provided for the better enforcement of its school attendance laws, but has introduced a strange amendment to its child labor law providing that children 14 or over must labor for their own or their parents' support. New Hampshire has shortened the working



day for boys under 16 and girls under 18. Minnesota has passed its first street trades law. Connecticut now forbids the employment of children under 14 in shoe-shine parlors and under 16 after 6 P.M. in public bowling alleys; and has regulated the hours of labor of children under 16 to conform with the federal law.

In correction of a statement in the last issue of *THE AMERICAN CHILD* we have heard from the Director of the Woman's Division of the Texas Bureau of Labor Statistics that as the Texas Minimum Wage Law was repealed by the last legislature, there was no further need for the Industrial Welfare Commission and it was therefore abolished.

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### **Children's Code Legislation in Nebraska**

The Nebraska Children's Code Commission was authorized by Chapter 178 of the Laws of 1919. The commission was appointed in September, 1919, and submitted its report in January, 1921. The report of the commission included a summarized statement of child welfare conditions in Nebraska as found by the commission; certain appropriations were recommended for child welfare work, certain administrative policies were suggested, and legislative recommendations were embodied in 53 separate bills which were included in the report. A summary of legislative action on the report shows that of the bills recommended about thirty were important constructive measures, the others minor, and often merely formal amendments to existing laws. Of the 53 bills, 32 were in the form of amendments to existing laws, six were in the form of bills to substitute new laws for existing laws on the same subject and 15 were new and independent acts.

Most of the laws recommended were already in force in other states. Probably the only feature in the entire legislative program which cannot be duplicated in the laws of one or more states, is found in bills 45, 46 and 48 as numbered in the report of the commission. These bills introduce and define the terms "filiated" and "unfiliated" child and provide a process for the compulsory commitment of unmarried mothers to the state institution at Milford in certain cases where the state finds it necessary for the welfare of the unborn child. It is a remarkable fact that bill 48, which has no precedent, so far as we know, in the laws of any state and which

seems, in fact, to introduce a new principle in child welfare legislation, by giving the state the right to commit an unmarried mother to an institution solely for the purpose of caring for the interests of the unborn child, was enacted into law by the legislature without any serious opposition. The chief objections urged against the bills of the commission, in general, were that they were radical and that they provided too much regulation of the affairs of individuals. On these grounds, many of the bills, which were largely copied from the laws of other states, were killed in the legislature, while the one bill, which has no precedent in legislation, and which goes farther than any other state has gone in interfering with the freedom of the individual in the interest of child welfare was adopted without question.

Of the 53 bills recommended, 20 were passed by the legislature. Of these one was vetoed by the Governor and 19 became laws. Of these 19 acts, 4 are in the form of new and independent laws, while 15 are amendments to existing laws.

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### Child Labor and Workmen's Compensation

In the *Monthly Labor Review* for June, 1921, appears an account of an interesting judicial decision in West Virginia:

The status under the workmen's compensation laws of the various States of a minor employed in violation of the child-labor statute is variously decided by the different courts. In some States the law itself provides that it is limited to persons legally employed; in others it is provided that minors are included whether legally or illegally employed; while in others the matter is open to the construction of the court. West Virginia belongs to the first group. A case involving an injury to a boy under 14 years of age about a mine, in violation of the child-labor law, was recently passed upon by the supreme court of appeals of that State (*Mangus v. Proctor-Eagle Coal Co.*, 105 S. E. 909). The boy was injured while hooking loaded coal cars to a rope or cable by which they were drawn upon a tippie. The law forbids the employment of any boy under 14 years of age "in any coal mine," and while a verdict of \$3,000 had been rendered in the trial court, this was subsequently set aside on the ground that the child-labor law had not been violated, and that



the boy's remedies were exclusively such as were given by the workmen's compensation act. The court of appeal, however, took the view that the phrase "in any coal mine," as the term "mine" was defined in the statute, included the incline on which the boy was working when hurt. Therefore his employment was unlawful, and the employer's "subscription to the workmen's compensation fund afforded it no immunity from liability for injury to him by its negligence. In the case of an unlawful employment, neither party to the contract is protected by the workmen's compensation act."

As the employment was unlawful, there was a *prima facie* case of jury by negligence, so that the judgment setting aside the verdict was reversed and the verdict reinstated with judgment for the injured boy.

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### Child Labor in Alaska

We quote from the "Biennial Report of the Territorial Labor Commissioner of Alaska, 1919-20":

Complaints were received by the Commissioner from cannery superintendents and others regarding the operation of Title XII of the revenue act of 1918 as passed by the Congress, which inhibits the employment in canneries of children under the age of sixteen years.

A questionnaire was sent to all canneries covering the effect of the application of this act upon the native population. The replies were almost unanimous in the opinion that a real hardship has been visited upon the natives by the decision of the revenue bureau that this law applies to Alaska.

An investigation was made by the inspector at the canneries visited and specific instances were disclosed where native families were being deprived of customary and necessary revenue for their support, on account of the inability of the children under sixteen years of age to secure employment at light tasks about the canneries.

Prior to the passage of the act in question it had been customary for entire families of natives, including children, to secure employment at canneries. The money thus earned during the summer, together with that secured by trapping and hunting through the winter season, enabled the family to eke out a scant livelihood. Native parents resent the denial of the right to have their children employed. It is difficult to explain to them that the cannery superintendent is not discriminating against them. In some instances whole families, and even groups of families, have refused to believe that the latter was not the case and have left the cannery, thus depriving themselves of work and the plant of needed labor.

During the summer of 1920 the Commissioner secured a ruling from the International Revenue Department to the effect that a parent's affidavit or

sworn statement of child's age, supplemented by a certificate of any available physician, is acceptable as proof of a child's age in case of Alaska natives, in lieu of the requirements of Article 9 of the Provisional Regulations in force under the law.

It is the recommendation of this office that steps be taken to free native Alaska children from the operation of this act.

What we want to know is: Are native Alaska children, children?

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### Child Labor and Levels of Intelligence

The day of mental tests and measurements has come. The day of their perfection is yet to come, though their perfect uses have already been achieved.

The distribution of degrees of intelligence among the general population, as indicated by the army tests, has been the subject of considerable discussion. It appears that, excluding the lowest grades of feeble-mindedness, ten per cent of the population is of "very inferior" intelligence; fifteen per cent of "inferior" intelligence; twenty per cent, "low average"; twenty-five per cent, "average"; sixteen and a half per cent, "high average"; nine per cent, "superior"; and four and a half per cent, "very superior." Or, otherwise stated, ten per cent is limited to a mental age of not over ten; twenty-five per cent, of not over eleven; forty-five per cent, of not over twelve; and seventy per cent, of not over thirteen or fourteen. On the assumption that the age-grade progress of school children corresponds with their intelligence, it has been concluded that seventy per cent of our boys and girls are incapable of acquiring a high-school education; twenty-five per cent of going beyond the fifth grade, and ten per cent of finishing the fourth. It has been pointed out that, according to the figures of the Federal Bureau of Education, thirteen per cent of our school children actually do drop out in the fourth grade or earlier and that sixty-nine per cent do not complete the eighth grade. But before accepting it as true that early school-leaving is wholly or chiefly due to deficient intelligence and that continuance in school is dependent on the grade of intelligence, it might be well to measure the mentality of groups of children who have left school—working children, in particular—and compare the results with the results obtained by examination of children who have stayed in school. There is some reason for



believing that a large proportion of working children are of rather high degrees of intelligence and that success in school is not entirely dependent on sheer intelligence. Binet says that "memory is a great simulator of intelligence," and we might add that with the methods in vogue in our present schools it is in many cases a pretty good substitute. We should keep in mind the fact that intelligence tests do not by any means measure the whole of ability and do not discover special aptitudes and abilities.

Taking the conclusions drawn from the army mental tests at anywhere near their face value, however, surely we must regard them as having a very direct bearing on the question of a sixteen-year age standard for leaving school and going to work. It is a psychological question as well as a physiological one. Why keep children in school if they are incapable of profiting by staying there? But maybe they could profit if we had different schools from those we have today. It has been suggested that the data on intelligence levels point to the necessity of picking out the children of the higher grades of intelligence and seeing that they are enabled to go on. The idea is that social and political salvation depends on a trained aristocracy of intelligence and that the schools belong primarily to that aristocracy. The incapables may be charitably taken care of through special classes or may be allowed to depart at an early age. But, after all, do the schools belong to this aristocracy—to the few who are favored mentally, any more than to the few whose parents are favored with money? Do the high schools belong to the small minority who are able to complete the course? Would it not be just as wise to adapt the school system primarily to the needs of the eighty-five per cent who are supposedly incapable of profiting by staying in the present schools until they are sixteen? And provide the special classes for the highly intelligent? Would it not be just as wise to emphasize the educational needs of the group of "high average," "average," and "low average" intelligence (sixty per cent of the population) as the needs of the "superior" and "very superior" group (thirteen and a half per cent)? And in such a way that the sixteen-year age standard for school attendance and going to work would remain valid?

It is, of course, impossible to raise the mental age or level of intelligence by education, but it is possible, without doing that, to increase individual efficiency and social fitness by suitable methods.

In the new schools for the masses, manual activity should have a large place. Individuals of low and average intelligence have instincts, and therefore are capable of forming habits; so habit formation should be one of the principal tasks of these new schools. Imitation and memory are other resources to be drawn upon. Allowing or forcing children to memorize lessons, instead of requiring the exercise of intelligence that develops intelligence, is to be condemned; but, on the other hand, memory training can be neglected to the detriment of the child. Though it is true that nothing can be added to native retentiveness, few capacities are susceptible to greater improvement than memory. Binet's remark that "memory is a great simulator of intelligence" should not lead us into an attitude of scorn, but should suggest that memory, because of its close resemblance to intelligence as evidenced by performance and behavior, is entitled to some respect. The fact that in the construction of the army group tests it was attempted to make them "as completely independent of schooling and educational advantages as possible," leads us to suspect that there are in performance and behavior other elements of ability than sheer intelligence as measured by such tests.

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### **Child Labor and Subnormality**

Sub-normal children present a problem from the child-labor standpoint. Several States provide for the issuance of working papers to children below the regularly prescribed age if they fall in groups variously described in the statutes as "backward and sub-normal," "mentally deficient or sub-standard," "mentally retarded and unable to make further advancement in school."

This exemption is not without its serious dangers. First, there is the serious danger of a loose interpretation of the descriptive terms; then there is the further danger of an inaccurate determination of the child's real mental status. The exemption should be always safeguarded by provision for reliable diagnosis and for training and supervision. There are excellent reasons for not keeping dull or defective children in school in the same classes with normal children, but none for turning them loose into industry without the protection and guidance which they, above all others, need. Special classes and schools are the commonly accepted solution, but Connec-



ticut is to try out a novel and promising plan of vocational probation. This is to operate primarily through the Juvenile Court and probation officers, but involves for its successful working out the close cooperation of court and school officials and employers. Any valid dealing with sub-normal children from the standpoint of child labor or from any other standpoint demands from the public generally just what is demanded in the case of normal children—a new and better understanding of their needs and possibilities. And the possibilities of useful and happy living, even for those children who must always remain children, are, through wise and devoted training, greater than we commonly suppose. We are speaking here not of development, but of adjustment.

Child labor is undemocratic, not merely because it is a denial of children's rights, but because it is a neglect of adult duties. Democracy does not consist so much in what we get as in what we give—the democracy of giving. An eminent Frenchman once described democracy by saying that it enables every man to put forth his utmost effort, but it also means giving every child an opportunity for development according to his potentialities and for adjustment according to his limitations. It cannot be understood without reference to biology and psychology. Democracy applies to all degrees of intelligence and native ability, to all kinds of advantages and disadvantages whether hereditary or environmental.

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### **Welfare Federations and The National Child Labor Committee**

The growing movement for the organization of local welfare federations, and the establishment of community chests and budgets for the collection and apportionment of the funds raised for social welfare purposes in one annual campaign, presents many concrete problems which Dr. Edward T. Devine has discussed in a series of articles in *The Survey*. One question that arises is, "Where do the national welfare organizations come in?" They come in only through the welfare federation, so far as the particular community is concerned; but that fails to answer the question. An extract from Dr. Devine's concluding article follows: "The National Consumers' League and the National Child Labor Committee present more simply one of the problems which will have to be faced

if the local welfare federations are to continue to occupy the strong position which they have attained in a few cities and if the movement is to become general. These two and several other national associations are dealing with controversial subjects. The evils which they attack have apologists and defenders. The reforms which they advocate cannot be carried through without angry opposition. They are obliged to insist on the duty of the state to protect certain workers from practices which are profitable to individual employers, and even to parents. Their programs may run counter to the general philosophy of some very good citizens who have no selfish private interest at stake. Of course, these two bodies do not have identical programs and either or both of them may include in their activities certain objects which are generally popular."

Dr. Devine writes further: "In deciding which national or non-resident agencies to include and for what amounts respectively, the welfare federations have naturally followed different procedures according to their own notions of propriety. They have sometimes allowed a local branch or affiliated body to include in its budget some allowance for the national body with which it is associated. They have sometimes, in the case of a national body which does not have a local branch, asked that there should be created some local group which could be held responsible for the use of funds raised by the federation and for co-operation in general. They have sometimes required that the national body should furnish evidence of local interest by first securing a certain sum of money or a list of members in the community, after which an application for inclusion in the common budget would be considered.

"The National Child Labor Committee, like other agencies which see both the difficulties and the opportunities involved, has been giving this subject special attention. I quote some paragraphs from its acting membership secretary, suggesting a whole-hearted sort of co-operation which might take place between a welfare federation and a national organization which has no local chapters of committees:

"In general, our attitude toward them should be one of closest possible cooperation. The people of the city form their federation to avoid repeated appeals for money, and we should respect absolutely their attempt at efficient giving. We should approach the



federations with the feeling that we can help them as well as with the hope that they will help us.

"It is very important, however, that we shall approach them, knowing that the time will come when the community budget system of giving will be generally accepted. We must recognize in doing this that "charity begins at home," and that our approach to them must necessarily be one of education along the line of responsibility for nation-wide social activities.

"Long before the local campaign begins we should present our case in writing to the board of directors of the federation. We should ask them for consideration when their budget is framed, and should accompany our request with a comprehensive statement of what our organization stands for, what it has accomplished and what it hopes to accomplish in the future. We should offer to send a staff representative, if necessary, to present our work and our plan for cooperating with the federation at the time of their campaign.

"If we want this sort of cooperation at all we should go into it thoroughly. We should have a representative on the ground during the entire week of the drive, presenting our work with the same sort of enthusiasm and efficiency that the local organizations are using. In my estimation the most important thing in this connection is that we should closely conform with the local methods of conducting the campaign. If the federation begins the drive with a parade, each local organization providing a float, we should have some sort of float. If during the whole week each local organization is given the opportunity to exhibit its work in the window of some store, we should have some sort of display, and we should make every possible attempt to make it as attractive and as inexpensive as possible.

"It seems to me the whole success of cooperation between the national organization and local federations depends upon the contact during that week of the national social representatives with the people in the local federation. If I were the staff representative I should want to do everything I possibly could to make the whole campaign successful, making speeches when called upon, working in the factories if they have an industrial day, working in the offices of the executives when necessary and doing everything within my power to convince the local people that the national agencies are making no attempt to take from local charities what rightfully be-

longs there, but that they are hoping to broaden the whole scheme of business-like budget making and concentrated publicity to the extent that they can easily give a splendid appropriation to national work.

" 'All of this would take a great deal of time, but I feel certain that the results would warrant employing a staff member whose full time, during the season when appropriations are made and campaigns are waged, should be given to this work.' "

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### BREVITIES

At Milwaukee in June, Owen R. Lovejoy was chosen president of The American Association of Social Workers, formerly known as The National Social Workers' Exchange. The Association, as J. B. Buell, its secretary, describes its purposes in *The Survey*, "is to be an organization of social workers. It is consciously to direct the development of this new profession. It is to be organized on a national scale, and most important of all, perhaps, it is to afford an opportunity for social workers to control the performance of certain definite and concrete functions, such as placement, professional research, vocational guidance, recruiting and popular education." Mr. Lovejoy, in an address before the Association, said that America has now reached the cook-stove and sewing-machine stage in social work. "It is a job in social engineering," he said. "No machinery is so delicate as the mechanism of human life. The social worker must give others to understand that he is not for sale. We must not be job-getters or job-holders."

"Child Welfare in West Virginia," a report by the National Child Labor Committee, will be published this fall.

The Federal Child Labor Tax Law is still in force. The U. S. Supreme Court has not yet handed down a decision on its constitutionality.

Dr. Livingston Farrand, National Chairman of the American Red Cross, has accepted the presidency of Cornell University.

George A. Hall, secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee, has been appointed executive secretary of the New York State Commission to Examine and Revise Child Welfare Laws.



Mr. Hall has been granted a year's leave of absence from August 1st in order to take up this important work as executive officer of the commission, and during his absence Miss Jeanie V. Minor, assistant secretary of the New York Child Labor Committee, will be acting secretary. An office has been provided for the code commission in the Children's Court Building, 137 East 22nd St., New York City.

New York recently enjoyed what was known as "Splash Week," during which every person in the city was offered free instruction in swimming and life saving. "Splash Week" was conducted by the New York County Chapter of the Red Cross, with the cooperation of the City, the various Y. M. C. A.'s, Y. W. C. A.'s and other organizations. Practically every swimming pool in the city was opened to the public for six days without charge. Thousands availed themselves of the opportunity and a great many beginners learned to swim in that time. For those who were already good swimmers there were demonstrations in life-saving.

Declaring that hotel guests are indirectly employers of hotel wage earners and therefore responsible for the hours, wages and working conditions of hotel employees who serve them, and that in the majority of the states there are no labor standards set by law or public opinion, the Executive Committee of the National Consumers' League has taken action to authorize the establishment of Consumers' League standards for hotels. These standards are to be worked out and presented to the League's annual meeting in November for adoption.

The committee on resolutions of the Eighth Annual Convention of the Association of Governmental Labor Officials of the United States and Canada, held at New Orleans, May 2-5, 1921, reported the following resolutions which were unanimously adopted: "*Resolved*, That this association indorse the minimum standards of children in industry adopted by the Child Welfare Conference called by the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor in 1919." "*Resolved*, That in view of the importance of safeguarding the health of working children through adequate provision for physical examination of minors entering industry and at work, this association expresses its approval of the principles embodied in

recommendations of the committee appointed by the United States Children's Bureau to formulate standards of health for working children, and recommends the general adoption of those standards in the various States and Provinces."

Studies by the National Child Labor Committee have shown the great extent to which child labor interferes with school attendance both in city and in country. It is interesting to note that this relationship was recognized several generations ago as constituting a serious educational problem. An historical introduction to the report of the Bureau of Compulsory Education of Philadelphia for the year ending June 30, 1920, contains a quotation from President Vaux of the Board of School Controllers, as the Board of Public Education was called in 1820:

"Each successive year confirms the utility of the mode of instruction which has been adopted, and it is only to be regretted that many parents whose children might be brought under its auspices, remain regardless of the advantages from the enjoyment of which they criminally withhold their offspring. Within the last six months another cause has operated to lessen the number of our pupils. The increase in manufactories in Philadelphia and its vicinity has produced a great demand for the labor of young persons, and has consequently withdrawn many children from the public schools. Without wishing to interfere with subjects not properly within the sphere of its office, the Board would suggest the propriety of adopting such legal restraints as should prevent the employment of children in manufactories until they shall have an opportunity to obtain the rudiments of education in the public schools, or require the proprietors of all establishments of the kind alluded to, to furnish moral and scholastic instruction to children engaged in those departments of industry."

The community in which the Child Health Demonstration, as described in previous issues of *THE AMERICAN CHILD*, will be made has not been determined as we go to press. Dr. Walter H. Brown, who was formerly health officer at Bridgeport, Conn., and who is now with the Commission for the Prevention of Tuberculosis in France, will direct the demonstration. Dr. Brown will return to this country about September first.

## **The American Child**

**A Journal of Constructive Democracy**

**Published Quarterly**

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### *Associate Editors*

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### *Contributing Editors*

**GERTRUDE H. FOLKS**

**DR. HAROLD H. MITCHELL**

**CHARLES E. GIBBONS**

**WILEY H. SWIFT**

**Yearly subscription, four issues, two dollars. Single copies fifty cents.**

### *Address:*

**NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE**  
**105 East 22nd Street - - New York City**

## **Contributors to this Issue**

**E. C. Lindeman** is professor of Sociology and Community Organisation in the North Carolina College for Women, and field secretary of the American Country Life Association.

**Ethel Hanks Van Buskirk**, formerly inspector, Federal Children's Bureau.

**Miss Sara A. Brown**, **Dr. Edward N. Clopper**, and **Charles E. Gibbons** are members of the staff of the National Child Labor Committee.



# ENFORCEMENT OF CHILD LABOR LAWS IN WEST VIRGINIA

APRIL, 1921

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ETHEL HANKS VAN BUSKIRK

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## PURPOSE, SCOPE AND METHOD OF STUDY

The purpose of this study is to discover the character and causes of violations, to analyze the results, and to make such recommendations as the analysis would seem to warrant. Not in any sense is it meant to uncover the extent to which the laws are enforced or violated but rather specific instances of careful or poor enforcement and the reasons for their occurrence. As in all states of the country, the provisions of both the federal child labor tax law and those of the state child labor law affect employed children in West Virginia. In examining the effectiveness of their enforcement, the overlapping or dovetailing of their provisions has been noted. The work of boys engaged in selling newspapers on commissions has been omitted because no labor laws affect such employment.

The investigation was carried on in eight industrial cities of the state—Wheeling, Moundsville, Fairmont, Morgantown, Grafton, Clarksburg, Parkersburg, and Huntington.

The methods used for collecting evidence of enforcement were: (1) examination of the records in each work-permit issuing office, (2) following up of cases of individual children, (3) observation of the system of inspection used by state labor officials, and (4) interviews with school superintendents, officers and citizens conversant with or interested in child labor conditions. The records of 2,780 children between 12 and 16 were examined and about 200 children were interviewed directly either in the home or at their place of employment.

West Virginia's child labor law prohibits the employment of children under 14 in gainful occupations except agriculture and



domestic service, permitting boys of 12 or over, however, to work in stores and offices outside of school hours. It prohibits employment in mines and at other dangerous work under 16 years. It fixes eight hours as the limit of the work day for children under 16 years and prevents their employment between 7 P.M. and 6 A.M. It requires children under 16 years to obtain from school superintendents before entering employment, a work permit which is to be issued only after the applicant has submitted satisfactory proofs of age, physical fitness, completion of sixth grade at school, and prospective employment. Vacation permits are provided for and do not require the schooling qualification. Special permits are issued to boys of 12 or over for work in stores and offices outside of school hours.

Comparison of the state law with the federal child labor tax law shows that the age limitations for manufacturing and mining establishments correspond. The special permission to work given to boys over 12 years of age by the state law in no way conflicts with the federal law, as it applies only to mercantile establishments and business offices, which the federal law does not affect.

Because of the dovetailing of these main provisions and the existence of a state inspection force, the State Bureau of Labor and State Department of Mines have been entrusted with the enforcement of both federal and state laws, that is, these two departments have federal authority so far as the laws coincide. Federal inspectors or agents have not made inspections in the state since the federal law became effective and the state authorities were designated as federal officials. Furthermore, although employers are intelligent in respect to the provisions of the federal law, individual state inspectors regard their chief duty that of enforcing the state law.

#### EXTENT OF CHILD LABOR

West Virginia has not a large number of children employed in industry and those so employed are in the cities where the industries are centered. In 18 months' operation of the child labor law, that is from May 11, 1919, to November 30, 1920, according to the Fifth Biennial Report of the State Bureau of Labor, only 9,715 work permits and age certificates were issued. Of these 2,512 were regular work permits, 2,366 vacation permits, 995 special permits

and 2,366 age certificates. Almost 40 per cent were age certificates for children past 16, leaving only 5,873 permits issued to children between 12 and 16 years of age. Vacation and special permits form about 58 per cent of the number granted between 12 and 16 years of age leaving less than half the number issued for children leaving school to go to work. Furthermore, these figures in all probability include duplicate permits. Assuming that at least one-third are duplicates, a total of about 3,900 different children between 12 and 16 received permits to go to work during the first 18 months' operation of the law. As can be easily inferred, these figures cannot show the number of children of legal working age actually employed for the same period inasmuch as many children holding permits under the old law were not yet 16 when the new law became effective and children are constantly arriving at the age when the law ceases to apply.

The State Bureau of Labor has four inspectors who made 1,815 inspections, including reinspections, of manufacturing establishments and workshops employing a total of 75,563 people during the two-year period ended November 30, 1920. The State Department of Mines has 19 district mine inspectors.

#### INDUSTRIES AFFECTED BY LAWS

The chief child employing industries are the glass, pottery, laundry, furniture and wood-carving, cigar, cigarette, stogie or some branch of the tobacco industry; stamping, tool and sanitary works; telegraph companies, department stores, markets, bowling alleys, restaurants, printing offices, and shoe shining parlors. Although few children are found in the last five mentioned, all such establishments in every city visited were employing one or more. In addition, several cities have industries peculiar to themselves which employ a considerable number. Wheeling has large steel works, a match, and a large tile factory; Parkersburg a large silk mill and a shoe factory, wholesale drug and grocery houses, and a chain company. A few garment and candy factories exist in nearly every city but employ few children. The rolling mill at Fairmont, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad shops at Grafton, the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad shops and a branch of the American Car and Foundry Company at Huntington, and the mines, gas and oil fields located



near every city employ thousands of men and contribute to the industrial atmosphere of the state but as they employ few, if any, children, except occasionally in offices, they do not materially affect the child labor situation.

No children under 16 were discovered working in mines, collieries or quarries. Numerous children living near mines and in miners' families were interviewed and rumors of such employment were followed up but no evidence was obtained. The State Department of Mines claims to have extended supervision further than the law and to have succeeded in prohibiting boys under 21 from running cars and mining coal. Several children now past 16 who have worked in mines for several years were interviewed but none had been employed under the legal age since the federal law became effective although several had worked when 11 or 12 years of age under former laws. Some of them were crippled because of injuries sustained in mines. It thus appears that the combined federal and state forces have succeeded in preventing the employment of children under 16 in mines.

#### OCCUPATIONS

In general, children are engaged in mechanical and automatic jobs. In a few cases they are still working at occupations adjudged by more progressive states as dangerous. In the glass industry, boys and girls "carry-in" or "carry-over," "sort," "crack off," "wipe," and do similar routine work. In potteries, boys are used as "helpers" to skilled workmen; boys and girls "grind," "wash," "inspect," "sort," and put designs on china. In candy factories boys are used occasionally as helpers in the shipping departments; girls "dip," "wrap," "pack," "sort," and feed automatic machines. In paper-box factories both boys and girls feed machines, "fold," "cut," and "inspect." In wooden-box and furniture factories boys are used mostly in "off-bearing" or "taking away," the terms usually given to helping at circular or rip-saws by taking the cut piece of lumber away from the saw; this work is forbidden in some states as a dangerous occupation because children at times work too near the saw or operate it when the adult workman is absent. In tobacco factories boys and girls feed automatic machines, "strip," "stem," "pack," and label." In tile works they operate stamping machines,

"wipe," "clean," and "sort." In stamping works the usual occupations are feeding an automatic machine which puts caps or accessories on articles or paints designs. In sanitary works, children usually wash or wipe completed parts of articles. Boys are employed as "link-heaters" in the chain works, and at stamping and other automatic machines in tool works. In the textile and garment factories girls operate machines. In laundries, children of both sexes and all ages feed mangles and fold, although this industry has been ruled amenable to the federal tax law. In bakeries, also ruled under the federal tax law, children help bakers, wrap parcels, and wait on customers.

In mercantile establishments, children clerk and wrap parcels in stores and markets; set-up pins in bowling alleys; wait on table and wash dishes in restaurants; shine shoes in shoe-shining parlors; and run errands and act as messenger boys. Colored boys are also employed as porters and elevator operators in hotels and office buildings. In most progressive states, running an elevator is considered a hazardous occupation and prohibited to children under 16.

## ENFORCEMENT

### Issuance of Permits

The "work permit" is the means of legal entrée into industry for children. It is the basis for all enforcement of a child labor law and the future welfare of the working child depends largely upon the care exercised in its issuance. This is the task of local school authorities. No extra remuneration is provided by law and in the larger cities where about 500 permits are issued yearly, a re-organization of office work has taken place and an additional clerk employed. In all the cities visited, the actual work of issuance devolves upon the superintendent's secretary or some office clerk rather than upon the superintendent himself. Only in Huntington has it been placed in the office of the attendance department, where it fits into the regular work of the office and aids in better follow-up of all children. Nearly all superintendents prefer the issuance to be directly under their control although in two cities considerable complaint was made of the extra work without pay. It may be unnecessary to add that in these particular offices permits are granted with less care than in those where superintendents are more pains-



taking and willing to control the child as long and as completely as possible.

### Jurisdiction

Strictly speaking, a city superintendent issues permits only for children residing in his school district, irrespective of the location of their prospective places of work, and the county superintendent for all other children, but the limits of their jurisdiction are confused in some cities.

In Clarksburg, for instance, within the limits of the city corporation, is the independent school district of Clarksburg, formerly coinciding with the city limits, and parts of two other school districts with separate attendance officers. Thus those children living within the city limits but not in the independent school district, go to the county superintendent for permits. In Fairmont, within the city limits are two independent school districts, on opposite sides of the Monongahela River, with separate superintendents and attendance officers. Unless a child is personally known to the attendance officer, he has only to say he lives on the other side of the bridge to elude the compulsory attendance law. The standards of issuance vary widely in these two districts although no overlapping occurs and a child can secure a permit only from the office for his district.

The jurisdiction over parochial school children desiring permits differs with the community. No supervision is exercised by the state superintendent of schools in the matter of educational requirements in parochial schools and local public school officials rarely enforce attendance of their pupils. In Harrison County the superintendent issues permits to parochial school children of Clarksburg, whereas in other districts the city superintendent stated that their offices had charge of this work although but few permit records of such children were found anywhere.

In studying the records of issuance, the sole object was to ascertain whether the legal proofs of age, education, and physical fitness had been demanded. No inquiry was made into the character or standards of these requirements, that is, no examination was made of the age documents accepted, of the standards constituting the completion of the sixth grade at school, or of the standards followed in determining physical fitness for work.

### Qualifications for Permits

The qualifications for all of the permits for children under 16 are alike, except that completion of the sixth grade is required of the child who intends to leave school to go to work on the regular work permit.

### Educational

In the offices of city superintendents, promotion records are filed, and are consulted to ascertain whether the applicant has completed the sixth grade. County superintendents do not have such records for all children in their districts and only in their offices was it found that an educational test was given at the time of application. In spite of the fact that the law states clearly that a child must have "satisfactorily completed the studies covered in the first six yearly grades of the elementary public schools or their equivalent," issuing officers have not been universally insistent upon compliance with this requirement. Wheeling, Fairmont, Morgantown, Clarksburg, and Parkersburg appear to be careful in this matter. In Grafton, one child interviewed stated he was in the fifth grade when he received his permit and the records showed that two orphan boys, both of whom were in low grades and one of whom could not write, were granted permits on the statement of the attendance officer that they needed work. Huntington was more lax in this particular than the other cities, many of the records showing that children granted permits had completed only the fifth grade or were *in* the sixth grade. One child given a work permit to stay at home to help his mother with washing was only in the second grade and unable to write.

### Proof of Age

In respect to proof of age necessary both for permits and age certificates, documents other than birth certificates are universally accepted because adequate birth registration was not in existence at the time children now going to work were born. Officers are fairly consistent about demanding legal proof of age and only in Grafton were cases found in which parents' affidavits or school records had been accepted without the accompanying physicians' certificates; in that city the physician's certificate is never used. The



two orphans before mentioned "proved" they were 14 by means of the attendance officer's statement to that effect.

### Physical Fitness

It is in the matter of physical fitness for a specific occupation that enforcement is weak and in some cities breaks down completely. In the first place, as complained by examining physicians, the law places the duty of examination on school inspectors or public health physicians but provides no extra remuneration and to do the work thoroughly requires considerable time and care. In Wheeling, the school medical inspector charges for physical examinations of children of whom he is not the family physician, and the city health officer who is a busy man sometimes refuses to examine a child. The issuing clerk insists that children be given a physical examination and when, after repeated efforts, cannot succeed in persuading either public physician to make the examination free, requires the child to bring a statement from the family physician for which usually no charge is made. At times, also, if a child brings such a statement in the first place it is accepted. In fact the usual statement accepted in Wheeling is that of the child's family physician. In Fairmont, also, where there is no medical inspection of schools, the city public health officer sometimes refuses to examine children; the issuing clerk in this office stated that she had issued four permits last year without a physical examination, when the doctor had refused to give it, because she thought the children deserved the permits and they could not afford to pay another doctor. She was not aware, apparently, that a physical examination by a private physician is illegal. In Grafton and Clarksburg the physical examination is entirely omitted. No medical inspector is provided for the schools in the former city and the superintendent hesitates to call upon the city health officer, explaining that he has other and more important duties. In the latter city, the superintendent and issuing clerk were confused between the physicians' certificate of age and the physicians' certificate of physical fitness with the result that only the former was used. The medical inspector apparently makes careful examinations of children sent to him and frequently the records show that, although a child was apparently of legal age, he was not in the proper physical condition to engage in his prospective work. The superintendent usually complies with the physicians'

recommendation. The other communities had experienced no difficulty in securing this requirement. In Morgantown and Moundsville where there is no school medical inspector, the city physician examines all children sent to him. In Parkersburg, the medical inspector also holds the office of city physician and examines all cases. In Huntington two school physicians do the work, a woman physician examining the girl applicants. The county superintendent in all cities has secured the co-operation of the county doctor in the matter of physical examinations for permits.

A second cause for complaint among physicians is the lack of standards for examinations from any supervising office and no means of deciding the character of a child's prospective employment or working environment. At no time have the federal or state authorities visited local physicians or issued any instructions, with the result that each local physician blunders along as best he can, the standards varying in the several communities and the child's physical welfare depending upon the ability, caprice, or conscientious scruples of the public physician. As one physician remarked, "I may be able to determine a child's physical fitness for a store or office job or for a well-known rough-and-ready job, but what do I know about the innumerable little jobs these children secure in the various factories and how can I tell whether or not they should work at them? In the few rather dangerous occupations of which I know, such as 'off bearing' from saws in wood-working factories, I always tell the parent or child that it is work at which the child may be hurt but usually all I do is to decide whether the child is in reasonably normal health for his age." This frank statement perhaps voices the sentiment of physicians similarly engaged throughout the country.

The requirement that the examination shall be given to decide the physical fitness of the child for the occupation in which he intends to engage, is universally ignored when the child changes positions and applies for a subsequent permit. His physical health as approved at the first application suffices along with his approved evidence of age and education.

A few isolated cases were found where the issuing officer had granted permits in opposition to a physician's recommendation. The records of the county superintendent of Harrison County showed that in Clarksburg an age certificate was issued to a child



who the physician said lacked the physical development of a child of 16 years, and a work permit to a child who the physician said should not be allowed to go to work because he was undernourished.

In Huntington a 15-year-old tubercular child who had been excluded from school by order of the school physician, applied shortly after exclusion for a permit, submitting a recommendation from the city health physician that he be allowed to go to work. He went to work as "link-heater" for a forge company, an occupation in which the heat is extreme and exposure to drafts frequent. The school nurse who has been watching the case closely for over a year stated that the boy was in much worse physical shape than when he left school. She was endeavoring to have the permit revoked but had not succeeded at the time of this investigation. The neglect of this child's welfare was due to the divided legal responsibility between two public physicians either of whose recommendations the issuing officer was bound to accept.

One boy in Clarksburg who was unable "to do well" in school because of adenoids was working on permit in an electric shop. This child was in serious physical condition because he was afraid to have his tonsils and adenoids removed though the doctors had stated he could not live long. Persuasion had been of no avail while in school but denial of the work permit until this operation had been performed might have been effective.

### Promise of Employment

Issuing officers uniformly require a written application from prospective employers for all kinds of permits, even from a parent who wishes to keep his child at home to help. The supplying of a state form for this purpose has aided greatly in enforcing the provision.

### Parent's Appearance

The appearance of the parent is not required by law and is not often requested by issuing officers except in Parkersburg, where it is a rule of the local superintendent, and in Huntington. In the latter city the attendance officer usually troubles one of the parents to appear before finally deciding to issue the permit so as to attempt to persuade him to keep the child in school. Such interviews frequently result in a denial of the permit, as the officer often finds it

unnecessary for the child to go to work or that parents are planning to exploit a child for the small earnings he can secure.

## ILLEGAL ISSUANCE

### Work Permits

Few records show issuance of regular work permits for illegal occupations or hours. In Huntington a permit was issued for a 15-year-old boy to work in a glass factory although the employer clearly stated on his application that the boy, if employed, would have to work on night shift.

### Vacation Permits

On the other hand, illegal issuance was common in connection with vacation and special permits, which were often confused. The vacation permit is valid only for a child "14 years of age or over—during the time when the public schools of the district in which the child resides are not in session," whereas the special permit is legal for a "boy 12 years of age or over to work in business offices and mercantile establishments outside of school hours."

Many vacation permits have been granted to boys under 14 because the special permit can not be granted for vacation work but only for work during the regular school term, and even the most intelligent superintendents are not able to understand the technical provision whereby a child who is allowed to work during the school year should not work during vacation. It was encouraging to find that most of this sort of illegal issuance occurred during the summer of 1919, soon after the law became effective, when officers were not thoroughly informed as to its requirements.

### Special Permits

The greatest source of confusion by far is the special permit, and in connection with its issuance the most frequent and flagrant violations occur. The fact that it is limited to boys only for mercantile establishments and business offices tends apparently to make the confusion worse than if it were a blanket permission for work outside school hours. Without exception illegal issuance of this permit is found in every issuing office and no officer is clearly cognizant of its limitations. It is granted to girls as commonly as to



boys and is often issued for vacation and holiday work or for staying at home for children ranging from 11 to past 16 years of age. In fact, in some cases, when there is every probability that the child will work after school hours, the special permit is granted to give the appearance of legality. In short, this permit has become a sort of handy contrivance to permit children to leave school or to work who cannot legally secure a work permit.

Of 51 children interviewed with special permits 25 had obtained them to work in industries forbidden children by law. In Wheeling great care is exercised in this matter. Only three boys, 13 years of age, out of a total of 215 children receiving special permits during the 21 months' operation of the law, were granted them for work in a factory. In Fairmont, from a total of 28 special permits issued on both sides of the river, 20 were issued for factory or other forbidden work, and 17 of these were issued to a large building contractor for boys to be employed as "water boys" during the summer vacation. Eleven of these 17 boys were under 14 years of age. In Morgantown out of a total of 39 special permits 20 were issued for factory work to children under 14. Clarksburg shows the greatest care of any city visited in the issuance of this permit, only one boy out of a total of 21 children having been allowed to go to work in a factory; this boy of 15, was granted the permit for Saturday work only, "carrying over" in a glass factory. In Grafton, on the other hand, out of a total of 23 special permits 8 were issued to children under 14 years of age for factory work, two of which were for the vacation period. In Parkersburg where 70 special permits had been issued, none were for factory or other forbidden work, but 4 had been issued for boys under 14 to work in stores during vacation and 2 were issued for boys of 11 years of age to work in a grocery. Huntington, a much larger city than Parkersburg, had issued only 61 special permits, 14 of which were to factories but only one boy under 14 was recorded as having received a permit for factory work.

Children of different ages were found in every city working after school hours without permits of any kind.

In the midst of the confusion in the issuing of vacation and special permits, it is evident that the local officials in the majority of cases are honestly puzzled over the limits of each permit and often issue a permit illegally in the belief that they are protecting

the child as fully as possible. A paradoxical situation is certainly presented by the child under 14 legally allowed to work during the school term after school hours, who cannot legally do so during the summer vacation. Evidently he is supposed to stop work at the end of May and begin again in September. On the other hand the child over 14 attending school, cannot legally work in a factory after school hours but as soon as school closes he may secure a permit to do so for full time.

#### ISSUANCE FOR DOMESTIC SERVICE

An extra-legal procedure is followed in a few localities when a child has proven to the issuing officer that it is necessary for him to stay or work at home. The state compulsory school attendance law gives the local superintendent authority to excuse a child from school attendance for certain reasons and sometimes a permit, usually a special one, is issued, thus giving at least a legal form for this permission. This has been done frequently in Huntington and none of the children thus allowed to leave school who were interviewed had used the permit to go to work illegally although a few had moved unknown to the school authorities. In Parkersburg, a similar proceeding has been followed in a few cases for the purpose of making it more troublesome to leave school than otherwise; no children under 12 years of age were recorded as having been granted such permission.

Issuance of permits for work clearly outside the law, if intended to protect the child, has in it much to commend and a further extension of it should be encouraged. Such children, however, should be followed up frequently to see that they return to school when not needed at home and do not enter industrial work. Not at any time must these children be regarded as regularly employed and free from the requirements of the attendance law.

#### RETURN OF PERMIT

According to the law not only must the employer agree in writing to employ a child but also to return the "permit to the issuing officer within two days of the termination of such child's employment." Most employers who conform to this provision give the permit to the child to be returned, rarely, if ever, mailing it to the office.

The employers with regular work permits in factories, mills and



workshops respond quite readily to this requirement, if not always within two days, usually within a week or ten days. Stores, offices and small establishments are noteworthy because of their failure in this regard and often a sudden visit from an inspector causes a large number of unused permits for children no longer employed in these establishments to flow back to the issuing office. With the special permit such negligence, as will be shown later, causes a great deal of illegal employment. As a rule, issuing officers do not "hold up" a child applying for a subsequent permit whose previous permit has not been returned. In Morgantown it was asserted that employers were held to this matter strictly and if the child did not have it the employer was telephoned to return it at once so the child could secure another job. The records which are complete in the case of practically every child bore out this statement. In Moundsville, also, the superintendent stated he insisted upon a permit's return before another was issued. The issuing clerk at Parkersburg attempts to secure the co-operation of employers in the matter of returning permits and has been fairly successful though the superintendent admits it is the most difficult provision to enforce. Superintendents everywhere complain of the ineffectiveness of this provision, some claiming it is the weakest point in the law and believing that if factory inspectors would regard it more seriously, employers would be more careful about it.

The vacation permit, largely because of its temporary nature, is the most difficult one to have returned. As it is plainly marked "null and void on the day the public schools open for regular session" employers are warned against its use after the opening of the fall term of school. Little evidence was secured pointing to its illegal use after the opening of school, the only violation being a minor one, that of keeping on file numbers of these permits when the children were no longer employed. In the majority of cities children with vacation permits are not followed up unless they fail to return to school. Neglect to return this permit is not regarded seriously by inspectors because it is obviously only of temporary character which most employers fully realize.

#### WORKING WITHOUT PERMIT

Only by following up individual children can their welfare and the extent to which the administration of the labor law protects

them as intended be determined. West Virginia, however, apparently intends to give the schools some authority also over children regularly employed, as indicated by the recent passage of the law compelling the establishment of continuation schools in certain cities in 1922 and attendance at these schools of working children from 14 to 16 for a specified time for the school year.

With few exceptions the practice of employing children without work permits either at their first or subsequent jobs obtains in mercantile establishments. Visits to stores and small shops, drug stores, bowling alleys and shoe-shining establishments revealed numbers of children of legal age and under, working without permits. Factories, mills and workshops appear consistently careful in this particular, many of them demanding an age certificate when children apply who claim they are past 16. This difference in compliance is doubtless due to the application of the federal child labor tax law to the latter class of establishments.

Children for whom permits had been issued were found to have gone to work at the jobs anticipated when first starting to work although many changed subsequently without obtaining new permits. Out of 70 odd children interviewed who had obtained regular work permits, 21 had changed jobs at least once without applying for a new permit. Of the 51 cases on special permits, 10 were found working or to have been working at jobs other than those for which the special permits were issued. No children were found in Grafton or Parkersburg who had once obtained permits and had later changed jobs.

#### AGE OF WORKING CHILDREN

##### Under 12 Years of Age

All children found employed under 12 years of age in the state were working in mercantile establishments. In Wheeling, this occurred most commonly in the markets. On one Saturday night 12 children ranging from 9 to 12 years of age were selling articles in the large central market after 9 P.M. As there are 64 stands in this market and some of the children were helping their parents, the violations did not appear extensive. The two boys of 11 years with special permits in Parkersburg were clerking and delivering goods in a grocery store. In all cities attendance officers complain



of the extensive illegal employment of very young children in shoe-shining establishments and bowling alleys after school hours and on Saturday and Sunday. State labor inspectors also state that these establishments are most difficult to regulate unless one maintains a constant watch.

Milk distributing companies often employ small boys during the morning hours. One boy in Wheeling, just past 14 years, had been helping out with the family income for six years delivering milk before school hours; and in Grafton, according to the superintendent, an 11-year-old boy was delivering milk in the mornings before school. Milk distributing does not come within the classification of establishments under the federal tax law, hence these children are dependent solely upon the state law which apparently affords them little protection.

#### Under 16 Years of Age in Forbidden Occupations

As a whole, few children under 14 years of age were found working in the factories, mills, and workshops and these usually had been granted permits of some kind, thus allowing the employer to shift responsibility, even if the children were not entitled to them. Rulings made under the federal tax law have covered many industries not specifically defined in the law but no rulings of any kind have been made by the State Bureau of Labor though a clear definition is needed of some classes of industries and occupations. However, children were found working in occupations plainly forbidden by both laws.

#### HOURS OF LABOR

In the matter of hours of labor manufacturing establishments head the list of those who comply with the legal requirements of both the federal and state laws.

Only eight cases of children working overtime in factories were found out of over 200 children interviewed.

Restaurants form a class of establishments in which extremely long hours are kept and children employed usually work the full-time schedule.

In contrast with the comparatively few violations of hours on the part of establishments covered by the federal law, mercantile establishments and small shops amenable only to the state law pre-

sent an array of violations both petty and serious in every part of the state, no locality being more lax than any other. Only, 15 or one-fifth of the 75 children interviewed who were working in mercantile establishments, offices, small shops and stands or bowling alleys, were employed legal hours.

Large department stores rank first in the number of children employed for illegal hours though the overtime is not often serious in the better grade of stores. Eight and one-half or 9 hours, always before 7 P.M. is the longest time any child was found working in these stores in normal periods but at Christmas time the hours are longer. The cheaper grade of stores, usually open on Saturday nights, violate more seriously. Small stores frequently employ one or two children for extremely long hours. The five and ten cent stores though apparently more careful about employing children under 14 and at overtime work, stay open on Saturday nights and keep children between 14 and 16 working until 9 or 10 o'clock P.M. Grocery stores are the most flagrant violators among small mercantile establishments. Drug stores have no better record in West Virginia than in other states. Milk and news companies are the usual violators of the early morning hours. Boys delivering milk work from 4 A.M. until school time.

The most serious complaints are about shoe-shining parlors and bowling alleys, and in every city visited boys 12 years of age and over were found working in these establishments after 7 P.M. and for 7 days in the week. The daily hours average no longer than in other places but the Sunday work is conspicuous.

Numbers of children were found at odd jobs or in peculiar occupations requiring irregular hours but nevertheless apparently amenable to both laws. No conclusive evidence was secured about overtime for telegraph companies though school superintendents and attendance officers stated that at times young boys worked for them late at night. Operating elevators is an occupation which requires irregular as well as long hours. No evidence of working children overtime or after 7 P.M. was found in business offices.

### NIGHT WORK

Although few establishments under the federal tax law were found violating the hours provisions, the employment of children



late at night or all night was observed only in such establishments. In Grafton the superintendent of schools told of the case of a boy 15 years of age and in the first year of high school, who worked all night on Friday and Sunday nights of each week in a bakery, sleeping Saturday and Monday and consequently missing school each Monday. The superintendent stated that he was doing nothing about this boy as he was a "mutt and didn't know anything anyway and might as well work." The fact that the boy had progressed into the high school was explained thus: "Oh, well, you know we teachers sometimes promote children to keep up our percentage of promotions. Got to do it." The superintendent further stated that he had not given this boy a permit and he "guessed" *that* was a violation of the law.

#### PART-TIME SCHOOLS

The state compulsory attendance law provides that every child between 14 and 16 who is employed for 6 or more hours a day must "attend an evening school, part-time day school or other continuation school for at least 5 hours per week for a period of 20 weeks" or for less time if the school is in session less than 20 weeks, provided there is any such school within two miles of the child's home. This provision was passed by the legislature of 1919 but at the time this study was being made it was not effective as no part-time schools of any kind had been established by any school district in the state. Evening schools existed in most cities visited but the attendance of any employed children was voluntary and not compelled by the local board of education.

The last session of the legislature (in 1921) amended the attendance law so as to insure the establishment of such schools in the near future. The amended law "requires (for school year beginning July 1, 1922) boards of education in cities with a population of more than 10,000 to establish part-time schools or classes for pupils who are employed and who are not regularly enrolled in school; and, thereafter, all boards of education where as many as 50 youths between 14 and 16 are employed must maintain part-time classes. Employers are required under penalty to release employees to attend such classes at least 144 hours each school year." No penalty is provided in case any city refuses to establish the schools or classes and difficulties are liable to arise when the law becomes effective.

### UNEMPLOYED CHILDREN

Local officials confront a peculiarly difficult situation with the unemployed child 14 to 16 years of age. The state compulsory attendance law requires attendance from 7 to 16 years but the penalty for non-attendance applies only from 7 to 14 years. Parkersburg has an attendance law for its own independent school district reaching to 15 years and has experienced no difficulty in enforcing attendance to 16 years. The Wheeling independent school district on the other hand, has a separate law applying only as far as 14. The other localities affected only by the state law have varied in their success in enforcement of attendance to 16, dependent upon the knowledge of respective parents or children regarding the limits of the law and the particular squire who prosecutes such cases. In Wheeling children and parents seem particularly "wise" about the law. At Moundsville in Marshall County, a squire has ruled adversely with regard to enforcement of the state attendance law past 14 years of age and as this decision has received wide publicity, many children in the county are said to be out of school who cannot legally go to work.

In addition to the failure of the law to provide effectively for the school attendance of unemployed children school officials believe that a child who has once obtained a work permit is unwilling to return to school and do not, as a rule, seriously attempt to force his return.

Again, failure on the part of employers to return the permit leaves school officials without adequate means of locating unemployed children should they care to do so. At the time of this study, West Virginia, as other parts of the country, was suffering from industrial depression and many industries, if not shutting down entirely, were "laying off" help. A few children thus discharged were back in school but many others were both out of work and out of school. Among those recently discharged hopes of being re-employed were still high and it had not occurred to them to return to school, nor to attendance officers to bring them back.

### WORKING CHILDREN FROM STATE INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS

A unique situation involving illegal child labor developed at the Boy's State Industrial School at Pruntytown. During the



period of the war and shortly after, while labor was scarce in manufacturing establishments, boys in care of the Industrial School worked in factories at Grafton two miles distant. According to information collected in the office of the School and from various children, boy inmates 11 years of age up, were paroled to individual manufacturers as they might be to any person who assumed responsibility for them. Glass factory employers were the chief recipients of these paroled boys who were put in their care for not more than one year. The boys were installed in their new homes, the company boarding houses, and went to work in the factories for the regular wages but receiving only a small part, the remainder being placed in the care of the School until they should become 21 years of age. The employers of these boys did not secure permits to legalize their employment and in addition were working them the regular hours of the establishment whether 8 hours or more. At the time of this investigation children were not being thus paroled to manufacturers because there was no shortage of labor, but several boys whose parole period had not yet expired were still working.

Public sentiment has been aroused to a degree about the work of these boys as is evident from the recent passage of a bill by the legislature prohibiting the employment of children in the State Industrial Schools without first obtaining permits as provided by the state child labor law.

#### COURT PROCEDURE

The law places the duty of enforcement of the child labor act on "the State Commissioner of Labor, his assistants, factory inspectors, school truancy officers and accredited agents of the humane society" except "that the provisions relating to the employment of children in mines shall be enforced by the State Department of Mines, said department to make complaint against any person, firm or corporation, violating any of the provisions of this act, and to prosecute the same before any magistrate or court of competent jurisdiction." The wording of the last sentence states specifically the disposition of complaints against employers in mines, but only by implication can it be said to state that employers in other industries should be arraigned before the same authority. The State

Bureau of Labor has assumed that their cases of violation shall be brought before the same courts and have had no trouble in getting cases prosecuted except in the Wheeling district where a local squire, unwilling to prosecute a particular party, has shown that the law gives him no authority to prosecute other than employers in mines. In view of the possibility that this precedent may become established and extended, the law should be amended so as to state the specific prosecuting authority before which violators other than in mines should be arraigned. As a whole, however, the local squires interviewed in the different cities appeared very friendly to thorough enforcement of both the compulsory attendance and child labor laws.

In the two years of the operation of the law the State Bureau of Labor has been successful in its prosecution of cases of violation having lost only one and that on account of a faulty warrant. The usual violations tried have been those involving overtime or night work, only a few cases without permits and none for failure to return the permit or for work in a forbidden industry or occupation. The minimum fine of \$20.00 for a first offense has usually been assessed. No cases for second offense have as yet been tried.

## SUMMARY

The outstanding impression is one of confusion so great that the task of untangling the present state of affairs, educating officials in the details of legal requirements and the public in general with regard to the limits of the state and federal laws, appears a more burdensome task than entirely to revise the state law and start afresh.

In its main applications the state law is clear cut and there is no doubt but that it applies to all working children in the state with the exception of those engaged in agriculture and domestic service. But by legalizing the employment of certain groups of children under 14 and of a certain other group for vacation work the entire law has been weakened, the chief effect being to confuse employers, issuing officials, parents, children and the public at large. The confusion inherent in the state law has also weakened



the enforcement of the federal law. One significant fact of this investigation is that out of the 200 children interviewed only 38 were working legally, that is, had met the requirements for a permit and were actually working in accordance with both federal and state laws. The violations discovered occur at every step of the child's industrial career, both when securing a permit to work and later when employed. It is also apparent that many of the violations occurring after the child has gone to work are directly traceable to a violation in issuing his permit. For example, a child who has received a special permit to work in a factory after school hours, may be found working on it full time during vacation, or the child found working after 7 P.M. may have obtained his permit with the issuing officer fully informed as to his prospective hours of employment. On the other hand the general opinion among school superintendents and people interested in the welfare of children is that the mere knowledge of the existence of the federal tax law is to a degree protecting the children working in manufacturing establishments but that the state law is not thoroughly enforced. It is admitted, however, that the present child labor law is enforced much better than was the former.

The State Bureau of Labor states that the law has been "generally observed in the manufacturing centers of our state and also in the mercantile business, but that it "has four inspectors and with the large number of plants which they are required to visit, they cannot include in their visits of inspection stores, restaurants, etc." Although this statement is a trifle ambiguous it admits of the one explanation that mercantile establishments have been neglected by the enforcing authority and, as shown by this investigation, have violated the law with impunity. The 1,815 inspections cited in the fifth biennial report of the Bureau of Labor were made in a period of two years ending November 30, 1920, and include only factories and workshops, a number of which were lumber mills in remote parts of the state and not easily accessible. This record shows that about 900 inspections or an average of about 225 for each inspector were made in a year. Although this indicates that the Bureau has been "on the job" throughout the state it cannot be said to indicate thorough work. If the report and the findings of this investigation indicate nothing else they assuredly show that employers cannot be trusted to abide by a law voluntarily. Some central body

with enforcing authority must make its power felt in order to give employees full protection.

With regard to permits, legal issuance is handicapped at the very start by inadequate provisions for performing the complicated duties involved. Issuing clerks usually have additional duties and many have had no time even to read the law carefully to say nothing of applying it. And scarcely any issuing officer is cognizant of the limitations of the federal law.

This lack of knowledge on the part of issuing officials lies at the very root of the confusion and the consequent illegal employment of children. Even with the law weakened by a special permit provision, well-informed issuing officers could engineer the entire field of employment so that only minor violations would occur. The only encouraging note amid the confusion is the frequent complaints by issuing officials about lack of instructions and the many inquiries they make about the proper procedure in this or that kind of a case.

Take the matter of qualifications for permits. No two communities follow uniform procedure in deciding the legality of submitted required papers nor are they uniformly insistent that all of the requirements be met, even when understood. Consequently a child is allowed to work on a legal permit form in one community whereas in another he would be denied one. Apparently the only qualification utterly neglected by some communities is physical fitness. This is an important requirement because of the many hazardous industries open to children in the state. The complaints of physicians regarding their inability to decide intelligently about a child's fitness for different occupations appears well grounded. In this particular field expert advice and supervision are needed so that children will be entering occupations with suitable physical equipment. The experience and training of the labor inspector do not fit him to advise physicians or to decide whether a child already working is physically fit for his particular occupation. A special physician from the State Health Department should be appointed to confer with local physicians and employers, to study occupations and with the aid of the local physicians, establish standards of physical fitness for different classes of occupations. Even if such standards might not be conclusive at first, certain minimum standards could be decided upon as a basis for further work. The mere



existence of such an effort, even though not thoroughly effective, would greatly stimulate interest among local physicians and would avoid the tendency to carelessness now widespread.

The confusion in the issuance of the special permits varies with communities, one issuing them for vacation work, another for forbidden industries and still another issues a vacation permit for after school work while practically every community issues them for girls as commonly as for boys. This confusion is not limited to issuing officials but extends even to the State Bureau of Labor. On the special permit form furnished by the Bureau of Labor is the statement "For *child* above the age of twelve (12) years" and in the last biennial report in giving the uses of the different kinds of permits the commissioner states that the "special permit is for a child over twelve years of age," although the law clearly states it is to be issued only "to any boy 12 years of age or over."

Again in the return of the permit one community ignores the provision entirely, another attempts to secure it by persuasion of the employer and a third "holds up" a child wishing a subsequent permit until the preceding one has been returned. The factory inspector in one district instructs issuing officials to see that vacation permits are returned and another tells the officials they "aren't worth bothering about." Again, we find misunderstanding about the return of permits extending to the State Bureau of Labor. Under the section on work permits the law provides that the employer shall give a written statement "that he intends legally to employ such child and agrees to return the work permit to the issuing officer." Paragraphs under this section provide also for the issuance of special and vacation work permits stating wherein their requirements differ from those for a regular work permit. The employer's application form furnished by the State Bureau of Labor has been prepared for use in applications for each of the several permit forms but states that the employer agrees "to return the permit, if *regular* 'Work Permit' to the issuing officer within two days of the termination of such child's employment." The authority for exempting the other forms from the return agreement is not apparent in the law. Evidently, permits other than regular work permits are regarded as exceptions to the law to which the provisions do not need to apply. Moreover, throughout the state, as shown by their somewhat unsuccessful attempts to secure the return



of any permit, issuing officials evidently regard the provisions as applying to all the forms. In this difficult matter of securing the return of a permit, West Virginia would doubtless find as other states have found, that a few prosecutions brought against some recalcitrant employers solely for failure to return permits would result in a marked change of attitude toward the requirements and a more healthful compliance.

An aid toward securing uniform compliance with requirements would be to issue printed instructions in non-legal and simple language. These should give the salient points of the law and also the principal things to avoid in order to issue a permit legally. For instance, "Never accept a parent's statement either written or stated about a child's age unless accompanied by one of the documents mentioned in the law." "Completion of the sixth grade means that the child has passed an examination for promotion to the seventh grade." "Remember that a prior permit must be returned to your office before issuing another one for the same child," and similar instructions. These instructions should be issued anew every few months with slight variations so as constantly to renew interest and to cause officials to feel that a central bureau is concerned about maintaining a certain uniform standard of issuance. A device to secure the return of the permit has proved effective in some states: at the very top of the permit form in bold letters is printed some such statement as "Return this permit to the issuing office—not to the child—when he leaves your employment" or "Do not give this permit to the child. Return it to the issuing office as soon as the child leaves your employ."

In the matter of keeping records, issuing officers also vary widely, some keeping special and vacation records separately; others tumbling all papers in folder files alphabetically arranged where papers pertaining to any particular child are scattered throughout the folder; still others keeping each child's first papers in envelopes and returned and subsequent permits in folders; and still others, neatly pinning all papers pertaining to any one child together and filing alphabetically. The records in Wheeling, Morgantown, and Parkersburg are kept systematically and carefully and the entire work history of most children can be secured in a few moments. Wheeling has also a book record of vacation and special permits, showing the industries and occupations for which such

permits were issued, the date of return and subsequent issuance. Some skeleton plan for keeping records should be worked out by the State Bureau of Labor so that records might be comparable. Local officials could add to this as might suit their needs, but the basic plan should be adhered to.

One provision of the law is almost entirely ignored by issuing officials. In addition to keeping a record of permits granted a record must also be kept of all applications denied. Issuing officers as a rule are not aware of this provision and consequently have no adequate measure of the volume of work carried on by their individual offices. A form is provided by the State Bureau of Labor on which to record the child's family history and to note the final disposition of his application. This is filled in for a child to whom a permit is granted but except in Huntington for no others. This record is later filed but the reason for refusal is not often indicated. The number of permits issued in no way indicates the work or difficulties of an issuing office and in order to secure information about the attitude of parents and children toward the law, the extent of responsibility assumed by the issuing officer, and, in fact, any idea of the operation of the law, it is highly important that a record of all applicants be kept, even if the office work is reduced to the simple matter of a numerical count. A request for the records of the children who are denied as well as for those granted permits on the part of the State Bureau of Labor might prove a very satisfactory way of forcing these records to be kept. And as an index of work performed they might prove invaluable in securing additional appropriation from a local school board or even from the legislature for state-wide uses.

Finally, in order to insure uniformity of issuance and to reduce the confusion, constant supervision from the central state office is essential. The most effective method would be to assign one inspector, preferably a woman, to the sole duty of supervision of the issuance of permits. This inspector should visit the office frequently at least every three months, to go over the records carefully and to see that the provisions of the law are adhered to and the records filed according to the basic plan advised by the State Bureau of Labor. This inspector would also be in a position to answer the many inquiries of the issuing officers and further to give constructive suggestions to the Commissioner of Labor. If



this plan is too expensive, then more inspectors should be appointed so that each inspector can find time to visit his issuing offices more often, at least twice a year, to go over the records and give instructions about details.

The so-called special permit for boys under 14 is responsible for most of the violations of the federal tax law, and for most of the confusion in administering the state law. It should be abolished together with the exemptions which make it necessary, and the vacation permit provisions altered so as to include all the departures from the regular procedure that are deemed advisable.

In order to accomplish all this extra supervision and to issue printed instructions from time to time, as suggested, requires a considerable outlay of money for which apparently the state has not provided. However, the law is non-enforceable in its entirety with the present staff of inspectors. Furthermore, it is doubtful whether better inspection would accomplish much in the matter of straightening out the confusion among permit requirements. This, as stated before, must begin and be carefully administered from the issuing office over which strict supervision must be constantly maintained. However, any law which exempts any occupations or industries from its full application has proved an expensive matter to administer and in most states has never been enforced effectively. Furthermore, when such exemptions exist, the employers of other industries coming clearly under the law, become confused and violate unconsciously or, taking advantage of the confusion, more readily.

No explanation can be accepted for the employment of children under 12 years of age whether with or without permits and the only remedy adequate for the situation is more frequent inspection and occasional prosecution.

The most serious and frequent violations found however, were in connection with the children between 12 and 16 years of age working in forbidden industries or overtime. Beyond doubt the strongest feature of the state law is its inclusion of all occupations except agriculture and domestic service but here again because of the special permit provision, with its opportunity for slipping into a forbidden industry, constant vigilance is required. Although it is not necessary to make any extensive study of industries, some definition should be made of such occupations as carrying water on



buildings in process of construction, running elevators, distributing milk, and similar work bound to occur, so that at least children under 14 years of age would not be employed in hazardous occupations.

The fact that more children were found working overtime or after 7 P.M. in mercantile than in manufacturing establishments, although a larger number of children employed in manufacturing establishments were interviewed, is a sorry reflection on the effectiveness of the enforcement of the state law and indicates that proprietors of mercantile establishments are aware that the federal law does not apply to their business. In the matter of violations of hours employers cannot be excused as they might in the minor violation of failure to return a permit and the best remedy at present would be the institution of several drastic prosecutions in order to inform mercantile proprietors that, though not amenable to the federal law, they can be held strictly accountable under the state law.

In conclusion it must be admitted that, through one proviso, in an otherwise good law with standards as high as those of many progressive states, West Virginia has so weakened the administration of her entire child labor law that standards are lowered, the structure of administration breaks down, and the enforcing power of the law is lost. Even with a most elaborate machinery of enforcement and a most intelligent administration, it may well be doubted whether the confusion and the consequent violations occasioned by the special permit could be overcome.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### Administration

1. Strict personal supervision of local issuing offices by inspectors of State Bureau of Labor.
2. Appointment of at least two additional labor inspectors, one of whom should be a woman. If possible assign one inspector to the sole duty of supervising the local issuing offices.
3. Establishment of standards of physical fitness for work by physician of State Department of Health in conference with local physicians.
4. The institution of several drastic prosecutions for employing children under 12 years of age and between 12 and 16 years over 8 hours a day and at night work.

Law

- 1, Abolish the special permit provision for boys under 14.
  2. Provide penalty for non-attendance at school of children between 14 and 16.
  3. Provide penalty for violating law, effective July 1, 1922, compelling the establishment of part-time schools or classes.
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Under modern conditions individual initiative alone cannot be relied upon as a means to secure the general welfare. It is no longer effective, for the odds against it are too great. The ordinary family, single-handed, cannot fully protect its children's health; nor fully assure their schooling; nor fully control their work; nor fully provide for their recreation; nor, if they are in any way defective or unmanageable, can it fully supply the special training they require. It is only as individuals pool their initiative, so to speak, and develop community initiative that a force sufficiently powerful to deal with modern conditions is created. The program for child welfare outlined in this volume depends for its realization upon community action; and if Tennessee is to adopt this program, it remains for her to encourage the cooperation of all her citizens in the development of community initiative and the support of community effort. The community and not the individual parent is now primarily responsible for the health, schooling, recreation, work, protection, care, and training of children because it is more competent to control conditions and thereby to make possible the satisfaction of these needs than any of the families of which it consists. This fact must be recognized and written into the life of the people by conferring upon the community such powers and by entrusting to it such duties as will enable it to serve the people completely, just as theoretically it is supposed to do. Only the people themselves can bring this about. It should not and, indeed, cannot be imposed upon them from without, for it lies in the normal growth of the people themselves into a cooperative body acting in the interest of all.

—Edward N. Clopper, in *Introduction to "Child Welfare in Tennessee."*

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The original traits and interests of man are not such as fit him to live in a civilized community in the twentieth century, and therefore the fact that those tendencies are modifiable is of tremendous importance. On this part alone rests all the civilization of the world, all the culture of the ages, all the promise of the future. There is the field and function of education; to seize upon this capital and use it; to modify and direct the original capacities and instincts of children so that they are fitted to live in the best that society has to offer; to appreciate and to add to it.

*Norsworthy and Whitley in "The Psychology of Childhood."*



## CHILD WELFARE WORK AND THE STATE\*

"ARTICULATION OF SERVICE OF JUVENILE COURTS, COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE AND CHILD LABOR LAWS, TRAINING SCHOOLS, PLACING AGENCIES, AND OTHER BODIES UNDER A CONTROLLING AND DIRECTING STATE DEPARTMENT."

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EDWARD N. CLOPPER, PH.D.

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No metes and bounds are fixed or even suggested in the wording of this subject for the state's control and direction of the jointing of child welfare agencies. It is not clear whether the proposal contemplates the state's control and direction of these agencies themselves, which are by this means to have their several tasks fitted together into a harmonious whole, or merely its control of their articulation. It does not seem likely, however, that it means the placing of all child welfare work in the hands of the state, nor that overseeing the articulation of its parts is the only proper concern of the state in this field. I take it that the meaning is that it would be desirable, through state superintendence, to promote co-operation and to avoid overlapping among all child welfare agencies, both public and private. But any one of these meanings presupposes state authority—and this must be admitted at the outset.

We have heard a good deal about co-operation and co-ordination in recent years. They have even risen to the dignity of popular catch-words like our old friends, the simple life, the strenuous life, conservation, and other familiar terms which in their day were slogans in themselves. But we are a restless people and soon become weary of reacting to the magnetism of one catch-word and seize hold of another without having advanced very far with the first, so confirmed are we in this temperamental process of symposial development. Before we had had time to adjust our minds and manners to the calm of the simple life, we suddenly veered off into hot pursuit of the strenuous life, then dropped that before we had had time to become very strenuous and began to dally with

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\* Paper read before the National Conference of Social Work, Milwaukee, Wis., June 24, 1921. Reprinted by Courtesy of the National Conference of Social Work.



the conservation of our national resources; then came preparedness; then internationalism; then a reversion to type; now normalcy; and ever and anon we glance at co-operation and co-ordination and resolve that some day, when the time is ripe, we'll surely put them into practice. But this butterfly method is no more successful in political and social welfare realms than it is in business. We are as far as ever from the realization of these things because we are as far as ever from settling down to a sensible and business-like handling of them.

The very wording of this subject is pregnant with confession—confession of our failure to work together. How naive is its implied future tense: the service of juvenile courts, truancy officers, factory inspectors, institutions, placing agents, and other child welfare workers is not, but ever is to be, articulated. Plato said that in making laws and in the organization of a state there can be no greater good than the bond of unity; if this be true, then here is a great good that social workers, who profess to be ever seeking such things, have been singularly unmindful of. It cannot be denied that social workers go their several ways, serenely inconsiderate of the relations between their own tasks and those performed by others. We suffer from myopy. We ought to pause at intervals, to put on spectacles with lenses of universal focus and look about us with as clear a view of things on either side as we have of those ahead. Such a general glance, indulged in occasionally, would make our own interests much clearer to us than they are.

The agency whose position affords the widest prospect of activities carried on for the public welfare, whose interest is least likely to be prejudiced, and whose sense of the relationship among these activities should be the liveliest, is the state. The private body and even the local public agency charged with duties within a limited area, are too much engrossed in their own work to appreciate its bearings upon other fields, but the state by its very nature sees things as a whole—its very name means a standing, a position, a vantage-ground from which all can be surveyed. It is the collective agency and its function is peculiarly extensive in contradistinction to that of the individual agency which is peculiarly intensive. The state is therefore qualified to oversee and to maintain proper relations among all the agencies operating within its jurisdiction. But in exercising its powers of superintendence the temptation is strong to take over

the work of the private or local public agency itself in the interest of efficiency and comprehensive performance; how far should the state go in this direction? This question looms large upon the borders of our life today, and there is none more vital to administrative success nor more fascinating to the student of political or social science.

It is simply the question of centralization of power in the hands of the state. For whether we conceive of the state's duty as the actual carrying on of welfare work or as limited to the superintending of such work when carried on by private and local public bodies, we come to the one end—in either case the power of the state is increased. It could not undertake to co-ordinate the activities of different agencies without setting up certain standards as the basis upon which to effect the co-ordination and then obliging the agencies to conform to those standards; it could not correct overlapping without having the power to enforce its mandate: "Thus far shalt thou go and no farther"; it could not succeed in the effort to bring about co-operation unless behind that effort there were the power to enter the field of any recalcitrant agency by taking over and performing its work.

The state is power and when we turn to it we call that power into action. By invoking its authority we acknowledge its authority. But granting all this, the question ever haunts us: How far shall this go on? However desirable the exercise of state power may be, and there is no doubt as to its desirability, there is a limit to this development. The law of diminishing returns applies to the administrative field as well as to the economic field; for, if in carrying on the business of improving social conditions we invest too heavily in collective power and too meagerly in individual initiative, we shall not enjoy as great a return as would accrue from a better balanced mixture of the two. There is a point in this approach toward centralization of power up to which under modern conditions it would be wise to go and beyond which it would be disastrous to go. Where is this point? Have we reached it yet in any field? This question is of general application—it concerns human relationships of every kind and is of profound significance to both political and social science.

The point is the meeting-place of individual independence on the one hand and of collective control on the other—that ground as I conceive of it, where the one will remain free to invent, to



initiate, to experiment, to demonstrate; and where the other will supplement such activities with a view to covering the field completely, will exercise its powers of restraint to do away with abuses and duplication of effort, and foster the working together of all for the common weal.

The private agency is the stimulating element of social work—the state is the staying element. The one is the outlet for individual energy—the other is the preserver of poise. It is the province of the individual, of the private agency, and of the local community to perform; of the state to keep the balance true. The greatest social service the state can render is to prevent anti-social conditions. Curiously enough, it is in the welfare field, considering welfare work in its narrow sense of dealing with the handicapped, that the state has signally failed to do preventive work—its service has been curative in the treatment of delinquents, defectives, and dependents—while in other fields it has been trying hard to prevent the evils that beset us: in public health work, to prevent disease; in public education, to prevent ignorance; in public labor control, to prevent exploitation. We shall not get far along the way toward social well-being until the state, the local community, and the private agency join hands in this field also, not merely to relieve the poor, to reform the criminal, and to train the feeble-minded, but to thwart the evils of poverty, crime, and unsoundness of mind.

It is the purpose of social work to encourage local effort and the aim of the state should be identical. This is the case in the matter of our federal grants of aid to the several states and to the people for use in building good roads, in developing agriculture, in improving farms, in teaching vocations; but if all this aid were accompanied by too large a measure of federal control its purpose would in the end be defeated through the paralysis of individual effort which would certainly follow. There is a happy medium between the excesses of unrestrained individual zeal and the withering influence of paternalism. It is to be found, in my opinion, in that adjustment between individual and collective forces which preserves the originality, initiative, spontaneity, enthusiasm, enterprise, and experimental value of the former, and limits the functions of the latter to supervision, restraint, preventive activities, and so much of standardization as will promote orderly progress without chilling the ardor that achieves. State monopoly of social service



would be as bad as private monopoly of necessities. The local agency and the state should each be free to attend the school of experience and to learn from its own successes and failures, but each should help the other.

To the social worker who studies such matters, the United States seems to be a mixture of peoples entirely befuddled by laws. And if we should really enforce all the laws we now have I dare say there would be confusion worse confounded. But we are interested in government and the uses of government only in so far as they serve to better our condition. Pope said:

"For forms of government let fools contest;  
"Whate'er is best administered is best."

The cry has always been for good administration, under whatever kind of government the people lived, and the same cry is raised today. In our seeking after this we have experimented widely with but indifferent success and still we cherish the hope that some day we shall find it. The tendency for a long time has been toward centralization of power, in the belief that with increased power in its hands the central government would be able to accomplish more than the local community with its limited power, and that, moreover, responsibility would be confined to a few and those few could more easily be held to account for their stewardship than can the great number of officials and agencies among whom the people's power is now scattered. And so we have observed the gradual development of this tendency for decades past.

It is a commonplace that business, politics, our domestic arrangements, and other concerns have been undergoing this change. There has been a steady expansion of state power and a corresponding contraction in the freedom of local and private agencies in the field of social service as well as in other branches of human endeavor.

But this change has not affected all kinds of social work uniformly; it has attacked some parts much more successfully than others, with the result that taken all together they present a curious array of dissimilar administrative theories in practice in similar fields. The conquest in some divisions of the child welfare field has been easy and fairly complete; in others it has been hard and only partially accomplished; while in a few it has made scarcely any headway at all. In the administration and enforcement of child labor

laws, for instance, power has been centered in the state virtually from the beginning of the attempt to restrict the employment of children; undesirable conditions are observed, a state law is passed to remedy them, and the state sets itself the task of enforcing the provisions. In the matter of education, however, the state declares that there shall be a public school system but leaves the establishment and development of that system to the local communities; it issues the order that all children within certain age limits shall attend school, but leaves the enforcement of this order to the local communities. The policy of the state in the one case differs radically from its policy in the other. A state labor department is usually all-powerful in its field so far as enforcement of state law is concerned, while a state school department is ordinarily limited to such non-administrative work as the preparation of courses of study, the granting of teachers' certificates, and the publication of statistics. Indeed, the stronghold of the home rule advocates in public life is the school system, and especially the rural school system when organized, as it still is in so many of our states, on the old local district plan; a single county may have fifty or more independent school boards, each one the arbiter of educational destiny in its district, engaging, paying, and discharging the teacher, building and equipping the school house, and enforcing or neglecting attendance as it sees fit to do. For years the advantages of rural school consolidation have been urged but even where this has been largely accomplished, the administrative power generally remains in the district served and in no case has it passed beyond the lines of the county. So also it has been held for years that enforcement of compulsory attendance laws should be taken from the local community and given to the county or the state. We are inclining to the theory that the larger the political division, the more effective the administration; and it does seem that so far as the criminal law is concerned, the efficiency of enforcement increases directly with the distance between the enforcing agency and the locality affected—a county sheriff is feared more than a town constable, and a United States marshal more than either. But it would be far better to encourage local administration with state support and supervision.

Juvenile courts in the nature of things cannot be controlled by any state department. The independence of the judiciary is a



cardinal principle of good government. But the state has certain powers with regard to juvenile courts which should be exercised in behalf of unfortunate children everywhere; for instance, it may properly supervise probation work in order that this vital part of juvenile court procedure be in no wise slighted and that a uniform policy concerning it be adopted so far as this is practicable and advisable; and it should forbid commitments of children to agencies and institutions, whether public or private, which have not its approval as worthy of the trust.

The relationship among the several branches of child welfare work is intimate although commonly unrecognized or disregarded by the workers. Each is absorbed in his own task and expects others to take care of theirs and to leave him alone. An agency with a thorough understanding of all the issues involved and with a broader appreciation of human values is needed to oversee all these activities for children and to supplement and to adjust their several services in such way as to insure a full program fully carried out. The united power of all such agencies and of the people in general as represented by some political unit, as the county, the state, seems best for this purpose. Officers having to do with school attendance, child labor regulations, the probation of delinquents, parole from reformatory institutions, the placing of children in private homes, are more or less abroad in the land and the work of each has a close bearing upon that of the others. All these efforts should be correlated and the correlation should be superintended by the people through their representatives, for this is in the public interest.

The enforcement of compulsory school attendance laws, the taking of the school census, the keeping of a constant enumeration of children of school age, the issuance of work permits, and the enforcement of local laws or ordinances concerning child employment (street trading ordinances, for example) are so inter-dependent that it is clearly advisable to unite all such work in a single division or bureau of the public schools. This applies to rural districts as well as to towns and cities. In the country such a combination of duties would make it feasible to employ at least one person on a full-time basis even in sparsely settled regions, for the several tasks would keep him busy through the year, whereas at present, under the plan of entrusting each task to a separate officer, either real or



imaginary, there is not enough work to occupy his time; he devotes his attention to other matters in compliance with the law of self-preservation, and consequently the whole program is neglected. This joint officer in rural regions could well serve also as the investigator of homes in connection with the payment of mothers' pensions, and perhaps also as probation officer of the juvenile court, if the authorities in charge of such matters agreed upon this union of service and upon a proper division among them of salary and expense payments out of the funds at their disposal. Sometimes, such a combination of duties arises naturally out of their very performance without any definite plan, as in Monterey County, California, where such a manifold servant of the people, when asked how the combination was brought about in his case, remarked that like Topsy, it just grewed. In North Carolina the county superintendent of public welfare is charged also with the enforcement of the state's child labor law.

But there is no virtue in this plan, no strength in this union, unless it is given financial support so that as the work develops, a sufficient number of assistants may be employed to care for the work adequately. Whatever local body or bodies should be made responsible for such work, whether a public welfare board or the juvenile court, the school board, the county commissioners, and other public servants acting jointly, its jurisdiction should embrace a whole county or such political division as would insure disinterested and comprehensive service. The personal embarrassments of neighborhood control should at all costs be avoided. And lastly, the work of this agency or union of agencies should be under the supervision of the appropriate state departments—the school department should oversee the work done relating to schools; the labor department that relating to employment; the health department that concerning health; and the public welfare department or its equivalent that having to do with relief, placing out, probation, commitments, parole, and preventive activities.

Organic evolution moves from the general to the special, social evolution from the special to the general; and the safety of man as a product of these two forces lies in a nice adjustment of the two. We are at once both individuals and society, and in our government we must find that balance between these special and general elements of our dual character which will permit our largest

growth. In our treatment of children we have been too prone to look upon every one as the counterpart of the others and we have shaped our social policy accordingly. We have overlooked the character of the child as an individual in our desire to serve him in his character as a social being. We have had too much in mind the welfare of society and too little the individual requirements of the child himself. Our best educators understand this now and are trying to provide for some approximation to individual instruction in our schools without sacrificing the advantages of general instruction. The old method of stereotyping children is giving way. Just an instance: there is no more striking characteristic of the individual than his handwriting and because it is so characteristic, his signature is everywhere accepted as his personal representative in dealings with his fellows—and yet the schools formerly wasted a tremendous amount of time and energy in trying to force all children to write alike, according to the copy-book model, utterly blind to the importance of characteristic handwriting as expressive of the individual in all business and social affairs. Individuality should be encouraged, not suppressed, whether the child be an inmate of an institution, a pupil in a school, a ward of the state, or the hope of a home; and it is only as the interests of society are to be served that he should be treated in a social way.

Social work is a spectrum—each separate task is a color or a shade, and if wisdom be given us to join them all in that bond of unity which is the greatest good, they will blend in dazzling white whose lustrous purity shall guide us toward the truth.

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In their play children learn to observe quickly, to judge, to weigh values, to pick out essentials, to give close attention; they learn the value of cooperation, to recognize the rights of others as well as to insist on their own being recognized; they learn the meaning of freedom through law; they learn the value and function of work and the joy of accomplishment. No wonder that play is regarded by many as the most important educational factor of them all. A child who does not play not only misses much of the joy of childhood, but he can never be a fully developed adult. He will lack in many of the qualities most worth while because many of the avenues of growth were unused and neglected during the most plastic period of his life.

*Norsworthy and Whitney in "The Psychology of Childhood."*



## NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHILD LABOR

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The Sixteenth Conference on Child Labor, like the fifteenth, was held in conjunction with the National Conference of Social Work. One session was held—in Kilbourn Hall, Auditorium, Milwaukee, Friday afternoon, June 24th. Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, presided. Participants in the program were Charles E. Gibbons and Miss Sara A. Brown of the Committee's field staff, Prof. E. C. Lindeman, field secretary of the American Country Life Association, and Colonel Homer Folks, secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association. The general topic was "Fair Play for the Country Child."

"The farmer's greatest loss is loss of his own children to the cities," said Mr. Lovejoy in discussing rural child labor, which he declared "consists not always in actual overwork, though there is far too much of that, but also in the deprivation of adequate play and schooling. Child labor is largely responsible for this exodus; it has driven children away from the farms in great hosts, and America cannot afford it. America needs on her farms good producers and good citizens and good blood—an efficient, lasting population.

"This is the problem that the National Child Labor Committee is now tackling. The other day we read that Bernard Baruch and his associates have formed a \$100,000,000 organization to help the farmers—a plan of cooperative marketing, whereby the farmer can hold his crops for a good market. But the National Child Labor Committee also has a \$100,000,000 proposition to help the farmer hold his best crop, not for any market, but for himself and the old homestead. By a conservative estimate, to give a child a chance to play and develop and go to school is worth at least \$100 to his dad, and there are more than a million country children who are not getting that chance. Here is an opportunity for investment where there is no possibility of losing. The whole of America will gain.

"Most of our child laborers today are in the country, and neither federal nor state laws give them any protection, except that



which is afforded by compulsory school attendance laws, and these are nowhere well enforced in the country places. With the growing congestion of cities, the demand on the country for food and other agricultural products increases, and the economic balance cannot be restored by improved methods of farming when many of the best potential farmers are flocking from the country to the city. You cannot bring up a generation of good farmers by overworking them or depriving them of education. You cannot keep boys and girls on the farm by depriving them of the play and recreation and social life which they instinctively crave. And today, with unemployment in the cities and labor shortage in the country, the children of rural America are harder hit than ever before. Child labor is at a premium—in many cases even on the home farm. It is all right for children to work, but not to be worked at the expense of health, play, schooling and a free, fair, fighting chance."

Mr. Lovejoy said he came to the subject with no prejudice against farm life in America. He said his own childhood was spent on a farm and he was glad of it, but called attention to the fact that in many parts of the country conditions of rural labor have greatly changed in recent years. He referred especially to employment of children in gangs, in truck gardens and berry fields, beet sugar fields, cotton picking, onion and tobacco culture, and other specialized farming requiring large numbers of hand-workers. He said that the after-war drop in the price of farm produce together with the difficulty in securing farm loans has constituted a serious embarrassment to American farmers. Large business interests and government measures are being enlisted to meet this embarrassment but as a matter of fact the most serious part of the difficulty is left untouched and almost unnoticed.

The most serious loss the American farmer suffers, Mr. Lovejoy said emphatically, is the loss of his own children. This is a condition not brought about by the war or its after effects. It has been going on with increasing speed for the past quarter century. Records of rural communities in which the population is less than a decade ago are too numerous to awaken interest and abandoned farms can be picked up in almost any part of the country. The motives actuating city sociologists in agitating for a back to the farm movement are noble motives but they do not get anywhere. Nothing is going to drive American people back to the farm. But decent economic

conditions with a rich, practical interesting school curriculum and sanitary protection will keep them on the farm. Their children will grow up there, thoroughly enjoy working on the farm, and thus supplant many of the hirelings, who, according to the Scriptures, "care not for the sheep" and the sources of food supply and good citizenship will be secured to the nation and to the world.

Colonel Folks, who had but recently returned from Europe, said it is farming that is saving Europe. It is farming that will save America. In Europe the fact is obvious. Here it is not so obvious, but is no less true. The farm population is the basis of our prosperity. Conditions of life in the country must be such that not all children will want to get away and go to town. One of the essentials is the vitalization of rural schools. Children should be taught more about their immediate physical environment, more about the actual factors among which they are living and working, with less far-away history and geography. Two of the things that really drive children away from the farm are: first, the monotony; second, the lack of money. The farmer does not necessarily possess less money, but he handles less and is apt to hang on to it a little tighter. It would be well if farmers would let up a little on the thrift idea. It would be a social advantage. City people spend too readily; country people don't spend enough—particularly on their children. Country children should have spending money of their own, and be taught how to care for it as well as spend it. Colonel Folks emphasized the fact that country people, particularly young country people, leave the farms and go to the cities not only because conditions have changed but because they themselves have changed. They demand more than they did in former years and if their wants cannot be supplied in the country they will go to the cities to satisfy them.

The papers by Professor Lindeman, Mr. Gibbons and Miss Brown are printed in this number of *THE AMERICAN CHILD*.

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Democracy in the widest sense means much more than a form of government, it is a system of social organization affecting almost every relation of man to man. It is a system which, ideally at least, attempts to equalize the opportunities and responsibilities of individuals in society.

*Edwin G. Conklin, in "The Direction of Human Evolution."*

# FEEDING THE SPIRIT OF CHILDHOOD\*

E. C. LINDEMAN

The child is the dynamic and centripetal force in modern society. Social organization is motivated in such manner as to divert our highest aspirations and our worthiest motives to the center—which is the child. We furnish the child with the releasing tools of the intellect; and, once the intellect is released mighty revolutions follow. We labor in the production of material goods so that the child's wants are met in increasing abundance. We build religious edifices and construct elaborate ecclesiastical machinery in order that the child may come to know his God. All of this, and much more, revolves ostensibly about the interests and the welfare of the child.

And, in it all, how great is the element of error, and how deep-seated the factor of hypocrisy! Our educational systems look down upon the child from the pedestal of adult prejudices. Our economic machinery loses its primary significance—"production for use"—so grossly that our proud boasts of altruism toward the child become the mockery of stifled lives set before inhuman and inexorable machines. Our religious institutions rob the religious aspirations of half their greatest value—the spiritual imaginings and longings which lead toward Truth. If one needed evidence to sustain belief in our miserable failure to live up to our protestations, he would need only to review the lists of the child welfare agencies which now exist in a modern community to save the wastage of our blundering.

A few years ago, a great book appeared; it made an analysis of the elements by which man lives. Love, Work, Play, and Worship were, to this author, the objectives and the necessities of human life. What does childhood live by? What are the spiritual longings of the child which a progressive society must understand and meet? I attempt the answer to this query in sociological rather than psychological terms. We have been passing through a period of psychological "mania." If only the person can be reached who

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\* Paper read at Sixteenth National Conference on Child Labor.



can present to us the "psychology" of a particular problem of process, we are sure to feel that we understand it fully. I do not wish to be understood as placing sociology over against psychology as an interpretation of child life; these two sciences are inseparable and both are needed. I, for one, join my voice with the person who recently said: "I have long since given up the hope of riding to the millenium on the back of psychology." Which means, that I am attempting to get a non-particularistic viewpoint; I am trying to view life as a whole.

### Some Current Fallacies

(1) The family is the germ of the state. It is the child's first opportunity for social experience; it is the human link which binds him to the races that have gone before and fits him for the life of the race that is to be. We have organized family life on a political instead of a social basis. Our families are little autocracies. Into these autocracies our children are born with all the heritage of the past and with all the potentialities of the future. What opportunities do we provide for the expression of their individual spirits?

The democratic family, in which the child has rights that are equal with those who are older and stronger, is rare. When the child reaches a certain age, the state steps in and legalizes certain rights; the grip of the parents upon the lives of their children is so firm that the state must interfere and set definitely the time when parental control must end. This is as if life were arranged in certain epochs or time-periods, each set off for certain forms of control. The child, the "automaton," must suddenly assume democratic discipline whether he has been prepared for it or not. But the unfortunate situation is that children cannot be reared in autocratic families and then be expected to make good citizens in a Democracy. There will always be left that remnant of resentment, that cowardice of obedience in the face of force, and that subdued urge toward leadership; these will continue to haunt our feeble steps toward Democracy so long as family life is not oriented with the social forces which are impelling us toward a democratic society.

(2) Outside the family circle the child is met with another autocratic system of control. He is sent to a school where he must sit in seats all set in a row and only sufficiently far apart to prevent serious intermingling. The teacher, not long since called the "mas-

ter," stands on the elevated rostrum from which he rules his little kingdom. There are many rules and orders of punishment. Only in the very most modern schools do the children have any voice in the making of these rules or in the dispensation of punishment. There are many colleges in which the students are free from immediate parental control and in which they have not the slightest opportunity for self-government.

Into this conglomerate group the "spirit of the child" is dropped; he is not differentiated from all the other children who happen to be of the same age-group. He studies the same studies, reads from the same books, writes the same words, and falls gradually into the same mental 'ruts.' Woe unto the spirit of that child who does not conform. "A conventional failure is more desirable than a troublesome success."

(3) In the child's life there are periods of freedom from all of these systems of autocratic control. There are after-school hours, and there are summer vacations. The healthy, ambitious child will want to use some of these periods of productive labor. He has the "urge to do," and he wants a little capitalization with which to establish an element of freedom from the family exchequer which rules his expenditures with an iron hand. What does our modern society offer the spirit of the child at this juncture of his life?

The street trades, including the sentimentalized role of the newspaper boy and the telegraph messenger; the factory worker, the store worker, the delivery-wagon driver—these are the economic opportunities open to the child. In many states, of course, the child's labor is restricted with regard to age; in most states the worker must be more than a "child" in order to become a part of the productive economic system, but the age-limit is still so low that the American child can still be said to become a worker while he is still a "child."

The street trades are focal points of infection for moral degeneracy. I recently made a study of a "gang" of fourteen boys who had been engaged in a series of crimes which ran the gamut from plain overcharging to stealing automobiles and robbing buildings. With the exception of three out of the fourteen, all of these boys had received their training in the street trades. The out-of-school hours, the vacation periods, were "feeding the spirit of childhood" on filth generously mixed with a little profit.



The country child receives no more wholesome food, as a general rule. He joins a work-group at an early age. The threshing crew comes to his farm-door; he is thrown into contact with the hired men of the neighborhood in young life. The cross-roads store, where salacious gossip prevails, may be his "social center." In addition, his fluid little frame is frequently subjected to forms of labor which stiffen the bones and overdevelop the major muscle. He is an old man almost before he has had time to think about passing from childhood into boyhood. The farm work of girls produces much the same result.

(4) But, somehow, in spite of all our bungling, this child grows up; he frees himself from our systems of control as soon as he can and then begins to grope toward an ideal of success. His spirit has been dampened but still glows hopefully. What standards of success do we hold before him?

Our standards of success are permeated with two fallacies. The first is the outgrowth of misconstrued psychology, and the other is the direct outgrowth of our "acquisitive society." We first tell our young people that they must be "four-square"; that is, they must develop all sides of their personalities in equal fashion. And then, by example, precept, word, picture, story, and drama, we say to them: "Make money." Oh, no, we don't say it quite so bluntly as that. If our psychology of the child is sufficiently warped by certain religious biases, we entreat them to make money so that they may be of "greater service to humanity."

The fallacy of the four square development is designed to denature the spirit of childhood. The child is urged by teacher, preacher, and all other advisors to "lengthen his shortest side" so that it will become equal to his other three sides. (Of course, human personality cannot be made to conform to the graph of a square, but our pet psychological schemes must be made to fit diagrams.) I know of no better method of analyzing this fallacy than to quote from Dr. Burnham's pamphlet on "Success and Failure as Conditions of Mental Health." In this pamphlet, Dr. Burnham includes the following selection from Professor Dolbear:

In antediluvian times, while the animal kingdom was being differentiated into swimmers, climbers, runners, and fliers, there was a school for the development of the animals.



The theory of the school was that the best animals should be able to do one thing as well as another.

If an animal had short legs and good wings, attention should be devoted to running, so as to even up the qualities as far as possible.

So the duck was kept waddling instead of swimming. The pelican was kept wagging his short wings in the attempt to fly. The eagle was made to run, and allowed to fly only for recreation.

All this in the name of education. Nature was not to be trusted, for individuals should be symmetrically developed and similar, for their own welfare as well as for the welfare of the community.

The animals that would not submit to such training, but persisted in developing the best gifts they had, were dishonored and humiliated in many ways. They were stigmatized as being narrow-minded and specialists, and special difficulties were placed in their way when they attempted to ignore the theory of education recognized in the school.

No one was allowed to graduate from the school unless he could climb, swim, run, and fly at certain prescribed rates; so it happened that the time wasted by the duck in the attempt to run had so hindered him from swimming that his swimming muscles had atrophied, and so he was hardly able to swim at all; and in addition he had been scolded, punished, and ill-treated in many ways so as to make his life a burden. He left school humiliated, and the ornithorhynchus could beat him both running and swimming. Indeed, the latter was awarded a prize in two departments.

The eagle could make no headway in climbing to the top of a tree, and although he showed he could get there just the same, the performance was counted a demerit, since it had not been done in the prescribed way.

An abnormal eel with large pectoral fins proved he could run, swim, climb trees, and fly a little. He was made valedictorian.

We have yet to develop a system of education and a social environment which will encourage the child to express his dominant interest, his driving spirit. This is an age of specialists; it is also, paradoxically enough, an age of democratic aspirations. Our great task of the future is to harmonize the function of the specialist with the democratic process. It will be no small task; the spirit of childhood will be needed in all its freshness and daring.

It was no accident that the author of "Main Street" closes this

otherwise pessimistic narrative with a note of hope riveted in the child. The generation of children whom we have brought into the world stand between the hesitant longing for the Democracy of Man and the conventional inhibitions which we have builded. It is a remarkable generation: sophisticated, slightly cynical as it sees through our hypocrisies, but harboring an idealism which, if let free, would build a fairer world than we have yet dreamed of. In this period of reaction, it is given to those who are earnest among us to speak frankly and boldly. The mental release upon which the new freedom waits must come from us. If this generation of childhood is, like our own, crushed in its dreams and ideals and perverted in its standard of values, our own generation will have failed utterly.

### What Food Does the Spirit of Modern Childhood Need?

(1) The modern child needs a *social environment* in which expression rather than repression is the dominant opportunity. Freedom of spirit cannot be "grafted on" after childhood days are gone; it must be the ever-present companion of his gowing days.

(2) The modern child needs a *work environment* in which his spare time can be devoted to productive enterprises suitable to his strength and of interest to his mind.

(3) The modern child needs a *play environment* which is so scientifically organized that it will supplement the ordinary regime of life; civilization imposes physical, mental and social burdens for which the child is not fitted. It is *our* civilization which we impose upon him. He must be given the broadest possible opportunities of adjusting himself to it zestfully and joyfully in the most vital portion of his life—his play.

(4) The modern child needs *understanding hearts*. It has become a popular pastime, at certain clubs and on Pullman cars, to engage in "muck-raking" the young people of our day. Most of what is said is the result of balked, repressed, neurotic, middle-aged minds. If what is said were all true, it would still be unwise for those of us who are responsible for the present world to condemn children who must live in it. The children of this generation await the understanding heart which will look beyond the superficial manifestations of an uncertain and a halting age.

(5) The modern child needs *education*. Education which is mere preparation for some sort of preconceived life is not the need of this hour. An education which *is* life is the only kind which will meet the demands of these searching youths. Outside of books and outside of school-rooms, there is a throbbing, disillusioned, sullen world of humanity. Its dreams have been shattered by a cruel war which promised much more than peace of arms; it promised the new and long expected freedom of man. The promise was futile. The world must be reinterpreted; education must use new tools. These tools are available, but the courage to utilize them is lacking.

(6) The modern child needs *religion*, for "religion is the first thing and the last thing, and until this generation finds God and is found by God, it begins at no beginning and ends at no end." The old forms, the old creeds, the old shibboleths, yes, the old religious terminology—all of these are strangely out of place in the modern world. They refuse to function. Out of great suffering and much persecution, this generation must hammer a new concept and a new interpretation of religion which will meet the realities of modern life. It will need to be a religion which is ethical rather than creedal; a religion which is scientific rather than mystical; universal rather than fractional; social rather than individual. Such elements are in the Christian religion. Our generation has done but little to render them vital in the spheres of our social, political, and industrial lives. The spirit of childhood craves a creative religion; we have presented them with the dry husks of the religion which our forefathers made creative for their own days.

All of this, and much more, is the food which is needed for the feeding of the spirit of childhood. The modern child, viewed in the light of his spiritual longings, should fill us with awe. In spite of our thin hypocrisies, the child is and must always remain the dynamic center of a progressive society. When this is not true the society decays.

Take heed that ye despise not one of these little ones;  
For inasmuch as ye do it unto one of the least of these, my brethren,  
ye do it unto me.  
So unto you is given the mystery of the Kingdom of God.  
If any man have ears to hear, let him hear.



## WHAT IS RURAL CHILD LABOR?\*

CHARLES E. GIBBONS

That farm children are working on the land is not a new thing. They were doing it long ages ago and they are doing it today. In this comparatively new country of ours, as agriculture passed from the pioneer stage to that of exploitation, the necessity of making both ends meet, of getting a mere existence, so completely obscured the child that little or no consideration was given to the conditions under which he was growing up; but now we stand at the threshold of agriculture's new era of development, namely, that of diversification, and it is quite natural that the question, What is a normal childhood for rural children? should be raised. Child labor is not the only ill of country children, but it bears a direct relationship to most, if not all, of the factors that enter into the making of the unwholesome situation which is the heritage of rural children. Therefore, a discussion of "What is Rural Child Labor?" cannot take place apart from the other elements that enter into the problem.

What are the tasks that children do on the farm? They are such chores as carry in the wood, feed and water the chickens, gather the eggs, hay and bed the horses, fodder the cattle, milk the cows, and slop the pigs, and such farm work as driving the team to the plow, harrow, rake, binder and mower, hoeing and weeding the garden, potatoes, corn and other crops, pitching the hay, shocking, hauling and threshing the wheat, oats and rye, cutting and shucking the corn—and a thousand other things. Child labor is not alone the mere doing of these tasks. It is vastly more, because the effect of the doing does not stop when the task is finished.

Children have an inherent and inalienable right to health, education and play, and anything, including work, that interferes with a normal development of childhood is to be condemned. These

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\* Abstract of a discussion by Mr. Gibbons at the Sixteenth Conference on Child Labor.

three factors are absolutely essential, first because they are inherent, and therefore due children simply because they are children, and second because they determine what work the men and women of tomorrow will be able to do. Let us examine the evidence and see if these tasks—the work that children do on farms—does interfere with the normal development of childhood.

First, health. There is a considerable body of evidence—particularly the draft figures—showing that the people of the country had a great many physical defects. A very cursory examination, even by a layman, will show there are many farm people suffering with ill health. Not all of this illness is due to the work they do, or have done, but that a great amount of it can be traced either directly or indirectly to it there can be no question. Of the ill health resulting from work, it is difficult to say how much is due to work done as children and how much done as men and women. If the time when a child passes from childhood to manhood could be fixed for all children at any given age, and if the individual did not have to carry over into manhood the results of his training in childhood, then the effects of work on his health could easily be determined for each period; but such is not the case. Childhood does not cease at the same time for all children and all men must receive the same bodies they had as children. We may properly raise the question whether a large part of rural ill health is not due to work done in childhood.

Many country children must rise before day and do certain chores before breakfast; after this other chores are done, and then they must rush to get ready for and off to school—sometimes a long distance away. After school they must change their clothes and hasten out to the field or wherever their services are needed; after supper, the chores by lantern light, then to bed. If school is not in session, or if they are kept home to work, after breakfast they, particularly the boys, go to the field, and save for an hour's intermission at noon, or dinner time as they know it, are there till the supper bell rings. They may get in time to water, feed and unharness the horses and eat their supper before dark, but it is more than likely that the latter is done by lamplight; then the chores, and bed. The hours are long, especially at certain seasons of the year, and oftentimes children do not receive the amount of sleep their young and growing bodies demand.



Rural children as a rule are not equipped with raincoats and rubber boots; their one kind of equipment must serve in all kinds of weather. It is a very common practice for children to sit in school all day with wet feet and not infrequently children will get soaked to the skin, and their clothing allowed to dry on them, but the chores must be done, the stock must be fed, the work must be done, and they must trudge along in wind, rain, storm, cold, heat and mud—just the same as in pleasant weather. A change in the weather has no bearing whatever on the work they must do—the necessary daily part of their work.

There is much farm work that is too hard and too heavy for children to do. Especially is this true where there is a lack of modern machinery, which means hand work. Even in diversified crop regions, there is still much work that must be done by hand. Children are required to hoe and weed the corn and potatoes, and set up the corn after the plow. This requires a stooping posture. When the hay and grain crops are ready they must be harvested without delay. All of this work is hard and heavy, even for grown-ups. Because of the element of time it is often necessary to press children into service and make full hands of them. Frequently a neighbor will call for help, particularly at threshing time. If the father happens to be busy with his own crops he will send his boy. There are no jobs about a threshing machine that are easy, though some are easier than others. If a boy is permitted this honor, he goes with the avowed purpose of making a hand, and consequently seeks the hardest job. The writer remembers quite distinctly on one occasion as a youngster, being sent to help a neighbor thresh. It was a barn job, *i.e.*, the grain had been hauled in and stored in the mows. The machine was set in the driveway on the barn floor and the straw blown out in the back barn-yard. The grain, having gone through a sweat, was dry, and therefore, the machine once set, the job would drive right along without any intermission from morning till dinner and from dinner till supper. By common consent each man selects his own job, and boys always desirous of showing they can do a man's job, usually select the harder tasks. Needless to say the adults make no protest. In fact it is generally accepted that the younger men should take the harder jobs. No difference is thought of or made between young men and boys. Instead of choosing a task within the strength of a boy of fourteen,



the harder one of helping to carry the wheat from the machine was taken in the instance to which we refer. The grain had to be carried about a hundred yards, then up a flight of stairs to a loft bin. A bushel-and-a-half machine measure was put in each sack. This meant one hundred pounds or more by weight. Long before night the writer was tired and ready to quit, but because of the good-natured jesting of the two neighbor men about the "kid" not being able to keep up, he held on and finished the day. So far as is known, no ill effects were suffered from that day's work, but, while some may and do escape, yet it is clearly evident that the majority of children will not escape, injuring themselves in some way, by such experiences as just described. These days are not few in the life of the average boy or girl on the farm. The farm men and women of today are paying the price in terms of ill health for yesterday's unguided and undirected work which they were not physically able to do and this will continue to be until farm people think of work in terms of health.

Second, education. Any one who has been in the country can very quickly see that children are kept out of school to work. Much of this is unnecessary and may quite properly be said to be just indifference. Very few parents would admit, or even think that they were indifferent to the education of their children, but, ignorant themselves, they justify the keeping of their children home on the ground that they need their help. To their minds a child is not truant if he stays home from school to work. Truancy is playing hookey. The school may be justly criticized in not more fully meeting the needs of country children, but even if the schools were ideal, there would still be farmers who would have the real or imaginary excuse—work—to keep their children away from school. The situation would not be so bad if the work they did were of an educational nature, but such is not the case. Practically all of it is mere drudgery and wholly uneducational. This will continue to be until country parents think of work in terms of education.

Third, recreation. Does the work that children do interfere with play? Again, we must say, that any one who knows the open country, must frankly admit that it does. The motive actuating an interference of work with play is perhaps an indirect one. Because of the economic pressure of the past, parents have so thoroughly come to believe that the most important function their

children have is to help make a living, that they have no concept of play. The average rural parent looks upon play as a mere waste of time, and some even yet look upon it as the handiwork of the devil. Many rural parents, absolutely honest and upright, feel it their duty, if no job is in sight, to hunt up one so as to keep their children from wasting their time with such trifling thing as playing ball. Country children are not getting a normal play life and this will continue to be until parents think of work in terms of play.

What is rural child labor? Any work which children do, that injures their health, interferes with their education, or robs them of their play, is child labor, and as such is to be severely condemned. Not all work that children do is child labor; work is essential to the development of a normal child life, and the difference between child labor, which is undesirable, and children's work, which is desirable, is that the former interferes in some way with the three essentials of childhood, whereas the latter does not. Children's work is supplementary to the other factors that are necessary to a normal child life. It is probably the best means through which discipline can be wrought.

While it is true that the most of the work that children do on the farms is unregulated and undirected, yet it is also true that farm work has in it the elements out of which can be made the most ideal type of children's work. Farm work is not essentially monotonous. It changes frequently. It is out in the open. It is potentially interesting because it deals with life, plant life, bud life, and animal life. It is fairly remunerative and therefore makes possible the maintenance of a reasonable standard of living.

Child labor in the open country today is an evil, and an evil of no small consequence. It must be done away with, but the hope for its elimination does not lie in an attempt to formulate a legislative program to regulate the hours and conditions under which children work on the farms. Rather the hope lies in getting the parents to see and fully appreciate what childhood is. The problem is primarily one of education, not legislation. The latter may help in an indirect way, by establishing minimum health standards and compulsory school attendance laws, but the greatest hope is from the positive rather than the negative standpoint. The county and home demonstration agents through the Boys' and Girls' Club



work are doing more to eliminate the evils of rural child labor than any other single agency. In order to be a club member children must do certain things in a prescribed way—this is discipline. Club work is interesting and therefore it has in it the element of play. It is healthful and educational. Thus work is being done for work's sake, and at the same time work is being done for health's sake, for education's sake, and for play's sake, and thus childhood is made safe. There is just one drawback to this work at the present time. It is not extensive enough. Every rural county should have county and home demonstration agents, and every community its Boys' and Girls' Club leader.

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Is America so poor in resources and so labor hungry that her children, little children at that, need go to work?

We learned in the organization of the draft that a large proportion of our young men were deficient physically and intellectually. And the conclusion was reached that a good portion of this deficiency was due to over-burdensome conditions in childhood.

The child is made and meant for play, the Creator has seen to that. To make little children work is almost like making a fish live out of water.

Yet in this country almost a million children between 14 and 16 leave school to go into various employments. The padrone system obtains on many farms where foreign populations have settled and during the summer small children work under conditions that they come back to school in the autumn more depleted in strength than when they left school in June.

Boys and girls who are put to work when they should be at play and at school, are never destined to be promising citizens, either in their mental, moral or physical capacities.

More power then to the National Child Labor Committee, which is out to persuade the people of this country that the long-standing evil of child labor has by no means been finally settled.

—*Rochester, N. Y., Democrat.*

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As adolescence slowly supervenes and boyhood is molted, the method of freedom and appeal to interest and spontaneity should be increased. Now the best things are springing up in the human soul. If there is any genius or talent, enthusiasm for work or for ideals, they begin now to be felt. If the race is ever to advance, it will not be by increasing the average longevity or directly by enriching the last stages of life, but by prolonging this period of development so that youth shall not die and its zest and enthusiasm grow pale.

—*G. Stanley Hall.*



## NEGLECTED CHILDREN OF APPALACHIA\*

SARA A. BROWN

Appalachia is said to cover approximately the same area as the Alps. It extends about 650 miles Southwest, and spreads over parts of the eight states of old Virginia, West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. The children of Appalachia, I have the privilege of knowing, live in Kentucky, West Virginia, and Tennessee. Their appeal is peculiarly compelling; first of all because they are just natural children, with all the charm of childhood, and because they are living in a world far removed from that world which lies "just b'yond yon mountain." Horace Kephart says, in "Our Southern Highlanders," "Time has lingered in Appalachia. The mountain folk still live in the eighteenth century. They are creatures of environment, enmeshed in a labyrinth that has deflected and repelled the march of our nation for 300 years."

The valleys of Appalachia are narrow, usually rich and fertile; the back country rough; roads unworked, are impassable, even on horse-back, several months during the year. Roads frequently disappear entirely, give way to "bushed-out trails" so narrow it is difficult for a foot passenger and a horse-drawn sled to pass. Mountain children live near falling waters, along lazy mountain streams, a mystic beckoning that leads the boy "out to fetch me in a squirrel or a wild turkey," and the girl and boy to gather wild berries and fruits from early morning until late night. Mountain children are as wild and uncontrolled as the elements about them. More than any children we know, they do just as they please. They are keen, shrewd, high-strung, capable of initiative when once their interest is aroused. They are, first of all, free, born of free-men, who have no regard for the rights of others and know no law but their own desires. Mountain folk have not learned to work with neighbors

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\* Abstract of paper read at Sixteenth National Conference on Child Labor.

for any common cause. They are willing to follow a leadership that knows how to meet them on their own ground and are making slow progress in developing a community spirit. Mothers with younger children "make the crops" while fathers and older boys go out to public works, bringing in a cash wage. They live literally in "a land of make it yourself or do without."

We construe neglected children to mean any under 18 who for any reason are growing up without minimum requirements for physical care, without protection from disease and without medical care, without protection from contaminating and immoral influences, without protection from abandonment, without suitable guardians, without education, wholesome play and recreation, and without work suited to their strength and ability. Legally, neglect is usually confined to a wilful act on the part of the parent, guardian or those entrusted with a child's custody. We contend, as far as the child is concerned, neglect is just as damaging in results, and is quite as unjust whether it be wilful, due to ignorance or incapacity on the part of the parent, or to lack of opportunity on the part of the community in which the child lives. We contend the child demands first consideration. If for any reason parents are unwilling, unable or unfit, it then becomes the responsibility of the state to secure to every child protection from neglect in any form. Child neglect, then, comes within the law as administered by the county and by the state; but it reaches farther without the law untouched by law.

In our Committee's study of conditions of rural child life, the field work of which has recently been completed, we compiled schedules for 1,005 dependent and neglected rural children, of whom we visited 482 in 172 homes. 201 we group as neglected children with no element of dependency; 68 of these are legally delinquent—that is, pronounced delinquent by a court; and 133 neglected. The remaining 804 we classify on the basis of dependency. We hesitate to estimate how many of these are neglected, but doubt not if we went through the schedules with the thought of neglect rather than dependency in mind, a large per cent would group as neglected children. Two hundred and seventy are from broken homes, and are living with relatives and in foster homes. Less than 25 per cent of these have been reached by any responsible authority such as a home finding society, State Board, an orphanage, juvenile court, or any official; 13 are bound out, 82 are living

in alms houses, 72 were born out of wedlock, and the remainder are either with or should be living with their own family. They include children in need of children's aid or mothers' pensions, those whose parents are dependent on public or private charity, and feeble-minded children of feeble-minded parents.

The tramp family is familiar to family social workers, but we met tramp children for the first time in Appalachia, tramping not for adventure but because they have no homes and no one assumes responsibility for finding homes. Annie, age 14, is typical of a distressingly large number of tramp children. In March we found her at High Knob attending school for the first time in her life. She lives with Granny McCauley, a mile and a half up the hollow. As we walked home with her after school, her story ran something like this. With three younger sisters Annie lived in a one-room mountain cabin; the mother died a year ago; the father, never a good provider, frequently deserted the family during the mother's lifetime for several weeks at a time. Just before Christmas last he left early one morning, presumably going to the village, nine miles away. After four days and nights he did not return. The supply of food became exhausted. The supply of fuel had twice given out and the children gathered more from the mountainside. Meanwhile a heavy snow had fallen. Rather reluctantly, Annie admitted, she *was* afraid but did not dare let the little sisters think so. At the end of the fourth day she took the children to a neighbor, where they stayed a couple of days, while the man of the house made inquiry regarding their father. Hearing nothing, Annie returned to the cabin, rolled their meager supply of clothing together and started with the three sisters over the mountain to a friend of their mother. It was nearly dark when they arrived at the friend's cabin, only to find the doors locked, no fire and no tracks on the fresh snow. They trudged on about half a mile and spent the night with a neighbor. For three weeks they tramped, never staying more than one night in one place. Annie had no definite point in view but a very clearly defined idea that she was responsible for finding a home where they could all stay together. They drifted into a neighboring county, where a man, presumably an official, put them on the train, with tickets to the seat of their home county. They reached the village about 9:30 one night. The conductor left them with the station master, he telephoned the county sheriff, who came to



the station and took them to the jail for the night. The following day he sent word to the probation officer, a Civil War veteran living nine miles in the country. They stayed at the jail three or four days while the women of the village provided them with new clothing, the sheriff and county attorney searched in vain for the father, and the kindly old probation officer found homes "so they wouldn't have to go to no orphans' home."

Perhaps a larger number of children who do not literally tramp, drift about from one home to another, with no one assuming responsibility for their permanent care. Gladys, 12, living with the Davids, typifies this form of neglect. Gladys came to a neighbor of the Davids, to work for her board and keep. Her father deserted her mother and the six children about five years previously. The children had scattered. When the District Supervisor insisted Gladys attend school the family turned her out. Mrs. David took her "to mind the babies" until Gladys could find a home where she could work for her board and go to school. She had been with the Davids about one year and was not in school. Mr. David, a miner, works irregularly, is paying for his home, has four babies under 6, the oldest afflicted with infantile paralysis, in a cast, receives treatment at great expense at a hospital in the adjoining state. Gladys, a bright, attractive girl, eager for all things of life, is without doubt the household drudge. As we started back to the village, wondering who in the community would see that she had half a chance, we met the county official responsible for the poor in that neighborhood, who greeted us with "Well, guess you find everybody in these parts well taken care of." We chatted with him regarding the Davids and Gladys. He knew nothing of her family but knew the Davids: "The Davids 'll give her a good home. They may not dress her as fancy as some, but for a girl of her station, plenty good enough." Eager to know just what he meant, we elicited this explanation: "Well, they tell me her father's a furriner, and then she's just the same as an orphan."

The children of Appalachia possess no prescription for immunity from diseases common to childhood. Distance from physicians, distance from telephone, conditions of roads, lack of nursing care and nursing instruction, ignorance and defiance of the simplest necessities of hygiene make protection from disease a myth and medical care practically impossible. Traveling clinics and Red Cross nurses

offer about the only medical care available. McDowell County, West Virginia, has a county dental clinic, supporting a staff of 25 hygienists and dentists through a tax levied for the purpose. During this spring they began their second round of examining all children in the rural schools. Marvelous are the stories. They sound like miracles, and are. Kentucky State Board of Health has a traveling trachoma clinic visiting several mountain counties this summer. Phthisis is common among mountain children. We visited a little 10-year old girl, unable to breathe when lying down. The mother "lowed as how she'd outgrow it." A doctor had seen the child two months previous, when he came to examine the father for commitment to the State Hospital for the Insane, and once last year the mother borrowed a horse and wagon and took her to a doctor 12 miles distant.

As a medical patient the child born out of wedlock and the child's mother receive very meager care in the mountains. Out of 72 rural children 49 were born in their mothers' own home, 20 in institutions and 3 in general hospitals. As a social patient the remote child and its mother fare better than those who seek shelter in the "settlement" and become subjects for well-meaning but misdirected charity. Seventy-eight per cent of the children are living with their own mothers and 7 per cent with grandparents. A happy contrast to the police-woman in a small city who is proud of the fact she has placed out "78 unwanted babies" mostly from the small town in less than two years. She keeps no record of the child's name, the name of the mother nor the family where it is placed. She said, "You know, a child like that never amounts to a cuss when raised with its mother."

It is unfortunate that law, based on property rights, neglects human rights of little children. Six children under 14, left orphans by the death of their father last September, have an estate valued at less than \$200. Some one, probably the undertaker, reported to the proper county authorities and an administrator was duly appointed to look after the \$200 and pay all bills. The same officials knew the children were left homeless and friendless, yet because no one petitioned their honorable body, claimed they had no authority to name a guardian or appoint anybody to be responsible for the children's care. In February we found them scattered in five homes, all unsatisfactory, and not one of the homes wanting to



keep them permanently. Are six children of less value in the sight of the Law than a poor little \$200 mountain farm?

Compulsory education laws do not reach all children of Appalachia. In March, in Pack Ferry School District, we found 14 healthy, robust children who have not been enrolled this year and were not enumerated in the school census of June, 1920, though they have lived within a mile and a half of the school house for three and four years. Neither the county superintendent, the district supervisor, the present teacher, nor the county probation officer, for whom two of the fathers work, knew of the children and the fact that they were not attending school. Six children committed to an almshouse as dependents seven years ago have not attended school one day during seven years. A brother qualified for service and went over seas. He was good enough to fight for us but his brothers and sisters are not of enough value to their state to be taught to write their own names.

Those who travel on the Baltimore & Ohio railroad take note of the beautiful scenery along the Potomac, just west of Harper's Ferry, within 55 miles of our National Capital. Do not overlook the squatters' cabins, where in January we found approximately 50 children who have never attended school and never intend to.

Along the Virginia border children of a whole district, with the exception of three, did not attend school this year because of a neighborhood feud of three years' standing over the location of the new state road. The old county road "took directly over the mountain," The mountain folk wanted the new road to do the same. The "crick" folk wanted it to follow the narrow bed of Pipestem Creek for about five miles, then take to the mountain. Last fall the District Board of Education employed as teacher the daughter of the leader of the mountain folk. The creek folk went to the county superintendent, declared they would not send their children to school if Laura taught. They had nothing against her except the fact she belonged to the mountain folk. She had finished 8th grade in a neighboring district, held a special certificate and had taught one year. The county superintendent advised both the girl and her father he would give her a good position elsewhere in the county, but the Board stood firm. They appointed an attendance officer from outside the immediate neighborhood, who acted for about six weeks last fall, then stopped without notifying



anybody. The road is now being built along the side of the mountain. Neither the mountain nor creek folk are satisfied, yet both claim the mountain folk won. In fact, neither had any influence whatever in the location of the new state road. The county surveyor selected what he considered best, and it has been approved by the Federal road authorities.

Mountain children play naturally and freely when they have any one to play with, but wholesome recreation is woefully lacking in the life of the mountain child, due to isolation, lack of community spirit, of a library or in fact reading matter of any kind, and to a religious repression which denounces all games as sinful diversion. Jack, a much neglected tramp boy of 14, living with a feeble-minded old woman, pointed to the dilapidated log church, in answer to our question as to what he and his pals did for fun, "Go over thar to 'vivals.'"

Mountain farm work is no easier than any farm work, and from observation we are confident many children are required to perform tasks far too heavy and for too long hours. Mr. Gibbons assures us the greatest evil in rural child labor is the too-much of such as it is, rather than a question of the kind of tasks required.

The children of Appalachia and their parents unknowingly challenge the eight states of which they are a part, they challenge all states to break down the barriers that separate, to know them, to understand them, to make available education and training for leadership among themselves, to protect them from neglect in every form.

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There are no misfit children. There are misfit schools, misfit texts and studies, misfit dogmas and traditions of pedants and pedantry. There are misfit homes, misfit occupations and diversions. In fact, there are all kinds and conditions of misfit clothing for children, but—in the nature of things there can be no misfit children.

*Frederick Burk, in "Every Child vs. Lock-step Schooling, a Suit in Equity."*

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Democracy, correctly understood as the freedom of each individual to develop the peculiar capabilities that are in him, is precisely what education requires.

—*Herbert S. Jennings, in "Suggestions of Modern Science Concerning Education."*



### MILWAUKEE "SCHRECKLICHKEIT"

Some of the family welfare delegates to the National Conference of Social Work in Milwaukee had a good laugh over a sign in a notary's window. It read: "Hunting and marriage licenses issued here."

—*Survey.*

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*He*—Here's a good book to have around the kitchen.

*She*—Oh yes, "Carlyle's Essay on Burns."

—*Brocktonia.*

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### TEACHER'S FAULT

A school teacher received the following note: "Dear Madam, please excuse my tommy to-day, he won't come to skule because he is acting as timekeeper for his father, and it is your fault. U gave him a example, if a field is 5 miles around how long will it take a man walking three and one-half miles per hour to walk two and one-fourth times around it? Tommy ain't a man, so we sent his father. They went early this morning, and father will walk around the field and tommy will time him, but please don't give my boy such examples again, because my husband must go to work every day to support his family."

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### BIBLE SCHOLARS

Willie had been to Sunday School. On his return home his mother asked what he learned there. He said:

"Why, mother, we learned about the Apostles. And last Sunday we learned about the Epistles. Mother, who were the Epistles?"

"I don't know, Willie," said Mother; "we'll ask Father."

So when Father came home, he was asked.

"Why, of course," said Father. "The Epistles were the wives of the Apostles."

—*School and Home.*

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A subscriber finds this amusing jingle in a volume of "ancient keepsakes":

Do ships have eyes when they go to see?

Are there springs in the ocean's bed?

Does the jolly tar flow from a tree?

Does a river lose its head?

Are fishes crazy when they go insane?

Can an old hen sing her lay?

Can you bring relief to a window pane?

Or mend the break of day?

What sort of a vegetable is a policeman's beat?

Is a newspaper white when it's read?

Is a baker broke when he's making dough?

Is an undertaker's business dead?

Would a wall paper store make a good hotel

(Because of the boarders there)?

Would you paint a rabbit on a bald man's head,

Just to give him a bit of hare?

Would you pay a policeman with silver coin?

For nickels aren't made for coppers—

If a grass widow married a grass widower

Would their children be grass hoppers?

If you ate a square meal would the corners hurt?

Can you dig with the ace of spades?

Would you throw a rope to a drowning lemon

Just to give a lemonade?

—*Outlook.*



Fred was absent often, and his teacher wrote a note to his parents as follows: "I'm afraid Fred is playing truant and I would like your cooperation in securing a better attendance record."

Back came this answer: "Dere teecher, If Fred is playing truant he didn't lern it at hoam. We air church peeple and haint got a playing card in the house."

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A Kentucky judge, some years ago, was asked a point of some strange ruling.

"And is that law, your honor?" asked the attorney. The judge, replied: "Well, if the court understand herself, and she think he do, it are."

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"In order to manage children well, we must borrow their eyes and their hearts, see and feel as they do, and judge them from their own point of view."

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I would much sooner surrender a portion of the territory of the commonwealth to an ambitious and aggressive neighbor, than I would surrender the minds of its children to the domain of ignorance.

—*Horace Mann.*

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To become a man too early is to become a small man.—*John Ruskin.*

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What is the ultimate purpose of government? In the case of children, is it not to bring them to a condition where they can rightly govern themselves? Is the ultimate purpose different in the case of primitive peoples, or of the masses in a democracy? Is not the ultimate aim of government the highest possible development of the individual, the nation, and the race? Is not the educative power of democracy its greatest virtue?

*Edwin G. Conklin, in "The Direction of Human Evolution."*



**THE NURSERY SCHOOL.** Margaret McMillan. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. \$2.50.

In introducing this book to the public, Professor Patty Smith Hill writes, "Here is an epoch-making book which all who have to do with the welfare of children cannot afford to overlook." Though perhaps not literally epoch-making it is a striking product of a new development in educational thought—one which has come to recognize that "human destiny is largely shaped by the nurture or neglect of early infancy and childhood." It discusses the psychology of the child underlying this concept, but is devoted chiefly to an exposition of the technique and management of the nursery school, including a consideration of the personality and training essential for teachers in such schools.

G. H. F.

**YOUR BIGGEST JOB: SCHOOL OR BUSINESS.** Henry Louis Smith. New York: D. Appleton & Co.

This little book written for young people is a plea to them to continue their education. With its main theme, the inadvisability of leaving school for work and the value of thorough preparation before beginning work, we are in hearty accord. Its chief defect is one of omission—a failure to recognize the school itself as responsible in part at least for school leaving. The restlessness of youth and the lure of high wages tell only half the story—their appeal to children attending attractive modern schools with a vital curriculum is 100 per cent less than their appeal to children attending the traditional disciplinary type of school, which, unfortunately, most of those in this country still are. The value of education cannot be overestimated; but the value of the school as it is, Dr. Smith overrates.

G. H. F.

**EVERYMAN'S CHILD.** Sophie Irene Loeb. New York: The Century Company.

The responsibility of the state for the care of the dependent child is the dominant note of this book by one whose experience with the mothers' pension

law in New York qualifies her to speak. Only through a coordination of the work of the state, the school and the home can the welfare of such children be assured. Although this book deals primarily with the question of mother's aid and the importance of home life to the child, it includes also discussion of such questions as school feeding, milk supply, the illegitimate child, etc. The appendix contains a summary of the provisions of the mother's pension laws of all the states.

G. H. F.

THE SOUTHERN HIGHLANDER AND HIS HOMELAND. John C. Campbell. New York: The Russell Sage Foundation.

For many years the friends of the late John C. Campbell had urged him to put into permanent form for publication the information gained through his long experience in the Southern Highlands. Always he refused, for he did not wish to be considered as a "mere investigator" but as a "co-worker with all agencies, native and foreign" and he felt that publishing his data might possibly result in misunderstanding and injury to that feeling of confidence which he had tried so hard to win. It was, therefore, with a sense of deep relief that his friends, in the midst of their sorrow over Mr. Campbell's death, learned that the manuscript upon which he had finally been persuaded to begin work was to be completed by his wife, whose own intimate knowledge of the field and sympathetic understanding of her husband's point of view admirably fitted her for the task.

Mr. Campbell had rounded out a quarter century of service to the mountain folk of the Southern Appalachians, first as teacher and college president and later as head of the Southern Highlands Division of the Russell Sage Foundation. No one knew the field so intimately as he did; no one else saw it whole. His book will doubtless remain the final authority on the subject, for the conditions which it describes are already passing away and no one will again be able to study them first-hand over so long a period of time.

To the general reader, the book is most illuminating in those pages where the personality of the author flashes out, in anecdote or reminiscence, drawn from his rich store of personal experience. Thus, Mr. Campbell's delightful story of the funeral of the Universalist and his extremely tactful and sympathetic chapter on the religious life of the rural Highlander (Chap. IX), leaves a clearer impression of the actual difficulties caused by the struggle among "the seven and seventy jarring sects" than does his more formal description of the growth of denominationalism (Chap. VIII). To the student of history, the discussion of the ancestry of the people whom Mr. Campbell has christened the Southern Highlanders (Chap. IV), and the description of pioneer routes of travel and early settlements (Chap. III), will be of special significance. The public health man will turn first to the chapter on living conditions and health (Chap. X), and the schoolman to the pages on education (Chap. XII). The sociologist will find arresting information in the chapter on the home-life of the rural Highlander (Chap. VII), and in the discussion of individualism and its effect on that life (Chap. VI). But it is useless to single out special chapters



for mention. Anyone who begins the book will want to read it straight through from cover to cover.

And in so doing, he will inevitably linger longest upon the conclusions summarized in the chapter called "Avenues of Contact and Progress" (Chap. XIII), for in these twenty pages are the core of the book.

The future of the Southern Highlander had long been a favorite topic of discussion. What will happen to him when industrialism seizes upon his mountains? What ought to happen? Should he be protected in his isolation, if that be possible? Should he be dispossessed altogether? What does he himself think about it?

As Mr. Campbell points out, the last question, which is the most important, has often been disregarded altogether. The need of conference with the people, as well as with other agencies familiar with the field, prior to undertaking any new piece of work, he considers fundamental to its success and his plea that the Southern Highlanders be considered a part of the general country-life problem, rather than a specialized "mission" field will find warm support among all those who know how certain endeavors, excellent in themselves, have been irretrievably damned in advance by that detested label.

In accordance with this theory, the recommendations which Mr. Campbell makes are in line with those generally accepted as desirable for rural regions in any section of the country; a revitalized system of public education which shall include continuation schools specially fitted to the industries of special districts and possibly some modification of the Danish folk high school plan; the establishment of public health nursing service and an increase in hospital and clinic facilities; agricultural schools which give a training adapted to local conditions; the introduction of the cooperative movement; and, on the part of the churches, a broad policy of adequate support to their clergy, and mutual toleration and helpfulness to other denominations. The church-supported school, Mr. Campbell believes, should not be permitted permanently to usurp the place properly occupied by the public school; after it has served its time in that capacity, it should either close its doors or open them as a center for demonstrating to the community the value of certain new ideas in education which cannot rightfully be assumed by public funds until their usefulness has been proved.

One wishes that such a center as the Pine Mountain Settlement—which is, of course, not a denominational school—might be especially endowed to carry on, in connection with its other work, just the sort of working-conferences for rural teachers, nurses and social workers in the mountain regions which Mr. Campbell suggests as a dream not impossible of realization.

M. B. E.

THE DIRECTION OF HUMAN EVOLUTION. Edwin G. Conklin. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Sociology has been greatly enriched and modified by psychology and biology, which usually lie at the basis of sound sociological thought. No sociologist worthy the name can possibly be ignorant of these two other sciences. Any

one having to do with social work or education should read "The Direction of Human Evolution," whatever else he may have read. Prof. Conklin sets forth the laws and principles of evolution, and traces the history of human evolution, physical, intellectual, and social, including the factor of man's conquest over nature. Another section of the book deals with "Evolution and Democracy" and the third with "Evolution and Religion."

"The past course of evolution," says Professor Conklin, "together with the evidences for teleology in nature, are strong arguments for a plan or purpose in evolution, the ultimate unfolding of which is probably beyond our power to conceive. This purpose is, at least in part, already indicated. Man is the highest product of evolution. There is good reason to believe that no higher animal will ever appear upon the earth. Although the limit of individual evolution may have been reached, at least for the present, there is good evidence that we have barely begun to realize the possibilities of social evolution. To a large extent mankind holds the power of controlling its destiny on this planet. Evolution through all the ages has been leading to a higher intellectual, ethical, and spiritual life. There is no reason to believe that it will change its course tomorrow. But as in former ages progress passed from individual cells to many-celled organisms, so now it is passing from individual organisms to society. While we cannot see the goal we can see our present duty. . . . To us it is given to cooperate in this greatest work of all time and to have a part in the triumphs of future ages, not merely by improving the conditions of individual life and development and education, but much more by improving the ideals of society and by breeding a better race of men who will 'mould things nearer to the heart's desire.'"

R. G. F.

MENTAL DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION. M. V. O'Shea. New York: Macmillan Company.

Professor O'Shea has written, in popular language, and from the standpoint of modern biological psychology, a book suitable alike for the teacher, the parent, or any one else who has to do with children—and that includes about all of us. One is tempted to say that there ought to be a list of required reading for all citizens of the United States and that under the head of "Child Nature" these books (choose one) should be listed:

O'Shea's "Mental Development and Education."

Waddle's "Introduction to Child Psychology."

Kirkpatrick's "Foundation of Child Study."

R. G. F.

CHILD LIFE AND THE CURRICULUM. Junius L. Meriam. Yonkers-on-Hudson: World Book Company.

Professor Meriam believes in fitting the curriculum to the child, not the child to the curriculum. His conception of the purpose of elementary education he states as follows: To help boys and girls do better in all those wholesome activi-



ties in which they normally engage. He formulates in conformity with this purpose the following principles. (1) The curriculum should contribute primarily to enabling boys and girls to be efficient in what they are now doing, only secondarily to preparing them to be efficient later. (2) The curriculum should be selected directly from real life and should be expressed in terms of the activities and environments of people. (3) The curriculum should provide for great scope and flexibility to meet individual differences in interests and abilities. (4) The curriculum should be so organized that it will admit of ready rearrangement of the schedule for any day, of the work for any grade, and even of the transfer of work from grade to grade. (5) The curriculum should lead the pupil to appreciate both work and leisure and to develop a habit of engaging in both. Professor Meriam describes the working of these principles in the University School at the University of Missouri. There is abundant discussion of the principles as principles. The book is one of the outstanding contributions to recent educational literature.

R. G. F.

FIELD WORK AND SOCIAL RESEARCH. F. Stuart Chapin. New York: The Century Co.

As the Preface asserts, this book gathers together certain means and methods of social research and attempts to present them in an accurate and practical form. The principle of the inductive method as applied to field work is discussed and the technique for observing social phenomena in actual contact with them is taken up, step by step, and made plain. The book is elementary in the best sense of the word: clear to the beginner and analytical to the experienced. Copious draughts have been made upon the publications of others but credit is everywhere given; the volume is frankly not an original treatise but a logical compilation—a careful presentation of the best methods in use to-day for the study of social conditions. It is only the field work of research that is discussed—the interpretation of data is not included.

E. N. C.

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION AND SCHOOL REPORTS. Paul H. Hanus. New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company.

Reserved for review in later issue.

THE CHILD'S UNCONSCIOUS MIND. Wilfred Lay. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company.

Reserved for review in later issue.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF LABOR. David Hunter Miller. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Reserved for review in later issue.



If you believe in the work that  
The National Child Labor  
Committee  
is doing, you will secure at least  
one new member this year, when  
we need new members more  
than ever before

## STATE CHILD WELFARE STUDIES

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By making comprehensive studies, on a statewide basis, of child welfare conditions and problems, the National Child Labor Committee is rendering well recognized service in the Children's Code movement.

The purpose of a children's code is to standardise and to co-ordinate the laws and administrative agencies relating to children and to supply laws and administrative agencies covering aspects of child welfare that have been neglected in the statutes. This, of course, is far more than a mere process of simplification—far more than rearrangement for ready reference. A general code deals with laws already passed, while a children's code deals with boys and girls, their interests, and the conditions that affect them. The one is merely the arrangement of laws in orderly sequence so as to facilitate the use of the statute books; the other is legislative social service whose object is to enrich and to make secure the realm of childhood.—*Edward N. Clopper.*

The studies of the National Child Labor Committee lay the informational foundation for revision and standardization of the child welfare laws of a state. In Tennessee the study covered the following subjects:

- |                             |                       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. The Child and the State. | 6. Rural Life.        |
| 2. Health.                  | 7. Juvenile Courts.   |
| 3. Schools.                 | 8. Mothers' Pensions. |
| 4. Recreation.              | 9. Institutions.      |
| 5. Child Labor.             | 10. Home Finding.     |

These studies are made by a staff of specialists and always at the invitation of public-spirited citizens or social agencies within the state where the work is to be done.

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Child Welfare in Oklahoma . . . . \$ .75	Child Welfare in Kentucky . . . . \$1.25
Child Welfare in Alabama . . . . \$1.00	Child Welfare in Tennessee . . . . \$1.50
Child Welfare in North Carolina . \$1.00	Child Welfare in West Virginia (in preparation)

These volumes should be in every library containing works on sociology and economics. They are of special value to social workers, clergymen, educators, journalists, legislators and administrators everywhere.

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HAS YOUR STATE HAD A CHILD WELFARE SURVEY?

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### National Child Labor Committee

Incorporated to promote the interests of children

105 EAST 22D STREET  
NEW YORK CITY

# National Child Labor Committee

Incorporated to promote the interests of children

105 East 22d Street, New York City

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# The American Child

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Number Three

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IN THIS NUMBER:

CHILD LABOR IN AGRICULTURE

HEALTH PROTECTION FOR ADOLESCENT WORKERS

PINKIE: THE LITTLE COTTON-PICKER

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SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

PUBLISHED BY

**National Child Labor Committee**

Incorporated to promote the interests of children

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## CHIEF OF THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU

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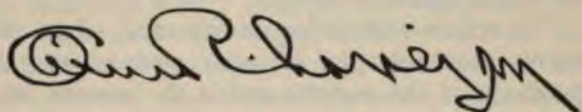
We of the National Child Labor Committee learned with regret of the resignation of Miss Julia C. Lathrop as Chief of the Federal Children's Bureau. From the establishment of the Bureau in 1912 Miss Lathrop had been the able and inspiring director of its activities. Her achievement is great, whether regarded from the standpoint of disinterestedness and efficiency in the administration of a pioneer form of governmental service or from the standpoint of the gains recorded in terms of a quickened public conscience and of fuller and widespread knowledge of the means and methods of child protection. The attribute of greatness belongs to Miss Lathrop herself as official and administrator, as scientific searcher after social facts, and as educator in the field of practical humanitarianism.

The long campaign for the establishment of the Bureau was one of the dramatic events in Washington during the past decade. The proponents of the measure embodying this proposal urged the importance of safeguarding and promoting the welfare of children as well as conserving forests and waters and spreading the gospel of better garden seed and livestock, while the opponents of the bill drew alarming pictures of the invasion of domestic privacy by agents of the federal government and fought their futile fight with all the aid that ignorance, misapprehension and self-interest could render. When the Bureau was finally established, President Taft at once sought the best talent in America to organize and direct its work. In making the appointment he wisely refused to consider political affiliations or recognize the barrier of sex. His successors in the White House followed his lead and under



three Administrations Miss Lathrop proved herself a statesman beyond the pettiness, and above the fear, of politics in official life.

The history of social interest in America's children can never be written without a long and important chapter devoted to Miss Lathrop's work as head of the Children's Bureau during the first nine years of its existence. Her successor is Miss Grace Abbott, who has long been associated with Miss Lathrop in good works of many kinds, and who, as a member of the staff of the Bureau, had charge of the administration of the federal Child Labor Act of 1916. This task was performed with great credit to her ability. Miss Abbott's experience in child welfare work is varied and extensive. She enters upon her duties as Chief of the Children's Bureau at a time when its possible service to the country is greater than ever before, and in expressing our appreciation of what Miss Lathrop has accomplished in the same post we find it a matter of gratulation that her mantle passes to the shoulders of Miss Abbott.



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Child Labor Day—don't forget it! Its widespread observance is up to the members of the National Child Labor Committee. Write to the home office for suggestions. We'll help you make the occasion a big success for the children of your community.

Sunday, January 29, for churches (January 28, for synagogues), January 30, for schools, colleges and clubs.

## NEWS FROM THE CHILD WELFARE FIELD

### School Attendance in West Virginia

Over half of the children in the rural schools of West Virginia are retarded and of these thirty-four per cent are retarded for more than two years, according to a study recently completed by the National Child Labor Committee, based on the attendance records of 4,500 children.

Of these children only eleven per cent had been daily attendants; less than two-thirds had attended for as much as seventy-five per cent of the term; sixteen per cent had been absent for more than half of the term and seven per cent had not been present for even one-quarter of the term. The causal relation between these two sets of figures is obvious.

To reduce retardation among rural school children, one must remove the causes for irregular attendance. According to the statements of the teachers and of the parents, illness and farm- or homework were responsible for nearly two-thirds of the absence; indifference for a quarter. In many cases, however, causes were confused with excuses. Much of the absence attributed to illness, for instance, was really due to indifference, for the child was not ill. Likewise, many of the absences attributed to work are, in the final analysis, caused by the indifference of parents; a study of the incomes of these parents revealed the fact that there was no emergency and most of them could have afforded to hire adult labor.

The outstanding conclusions of this study are the facts that attendance in rural schools is very poor and that this is due primarily to the indifference of the parents. The explanation of their indifference is two-fold: first, ignorance of the value of education, and second, the failure of the school to interest the children and to offer a type of education which gains the confidence of the parents.

### **Child Labor and Adult Employment**

That the child labor situation registers the condition of adult employment, the industrial depression of the past year has demonstrated. The first effect, and one which was felt almost immediately, was the withdrawal of children from industry and their return to school. Reports received by the National Child Labor Committee from several large cities show a decrease in the number of employment certificates issued during the last year, a decrease in the continuation school enrollment, and an unusual increase this fall in the enrollment of the public elementary and high schools. In each case, this is attributed to the lack of opportunities for employment.

An opposite effect has been noted, however, namely, that children are being forced to go to work because older members of the family cannot find employment. There has always been a tendency for children as a part of the working population to lower the wages of adults and even displace them from their jobs. During a period of unemployment this is especially true. When their parents cannot find jobs, the children can, though at smaller wages. As the Director of the Compulsory Education Bureau of Philadelphia reports, "The employers always want to get the youngest possible, for they will work at cheaper wages, and those young ones often get the jobs held not long before by their older brothers and sisters." Rochester, likewise, reports that "There is a tendency for youngsters to give as excuses for leaving school to go to work that their fathers are out of work and they must help support the family." Although the actual number of children employed may be less, children who otherwise would not leave school for work are doing so, and are leaving at the earliest age the law permits.

It is partly because of the effect of child labor on adult wages and unemployment that the American Federation of Labor strongly opposes the employment of children under 16 and favors the 16-year age minimum in child labor legislation. In the fall of 1921, the National Child Labor Committee pointed out that one of the practical ways of meeting the emergency was to try to keep children in school and out of the labor market, where they were competitors with adults, and to try to get back into school the boys and girls who had gone to work. Not only would this help in the crisis but it would benefit the children affected by giving them the oppor-



tunity for further education. Minneapolis, for instance, provided special vocational training adapted to the needs of the untrained young people who had been thrown out of work. This example should be followed; if it is, when these young people return to work, they will be able to fill higher positions and will be less apt to find themselves in the ranks of the marginal laborers, the last to be hired and the first to be fired.

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### Industrial Accidents to Young Wage-Earners

One of the most startling indictments of child labor is the fact that from two to three times as many children as adults in proportion to the number employed are killed or injured in industry.

The Federal Report on *Women and Child Wage-Earners in the United States*, published in 1910, stated that although children in the cotton mills were generally employed in less hazardous occupations and were not required to handle very dangerous machines, the accident rate in the Southern cotton mills was 48 per cent higher for persons 14 and 15 years of age than for those 16 years and over. For children of this age working among shafts, belts and gears, the rate was 133 per cent higher than for the older group, and in gear accidents three and one-third times as high.

Although under the impetus of Workmen's Compensation Laws gigantic efforts have been made during the past decade to reduce industrial hazards, this ratio still holds. A recent study made in a textile mill in Connecticut by students in a course in Statistics at Mount Holyoke College, under the direction of Miss Amy Hewes, showed that 1,221 accidents had occurred during 1920. Of these 1,164 were to workers whose ages were known. Three hundred and one—over one-fourth—had been suffered by employees under 20 years of age, although this age group includes only 15 per cent of the total number employed. The number of accidents per 100 employees was 37.1 for workers under 15 years, and 42.9 for those between 15 and 20 years. For all others, however, the average was only 21.6.

This is not an isolated case. In the state of Massachusetts as a whole, the number of children under 16 who are victims of industrial accidents is very great. In the year 1916-17, 1,416 accidents

to children of this age were reported, 7 of which were fatal. The following year this increased to 1,730 with 5 fatalities. In 1919-20 the number was 1,691, 10 being fatal. Although the rates for deaths and permanent total disability were less for the accidents to children under 16 than for those to workers over that age, a larger proportion of their accidents resulted in permanent partial disability. There were 62 such cases among the 1919-20 accidents. Moreover the Massachusetts figures represent only about 45 per cent of the total number of industrial accidents to children reported, for accidents which did not result in the loss of at least one day's work were not tabulated.

According to a recent study in Boston, nearly one child out of every 12 attending the continuation schools had suffered some accident, either in the course of his work or otherwise since taking his first regular position; 60 per cent of these accidents had occurred while the children were at work—in other words, one child in every 20 of those enrolled in continuation schools had been injured as a direct result of his employment.

In Pennsylvania, during the last four years 4,663 industrial accidents to minors under 16 years of age have occurred, of which ten have been fatal. Although the Pennsylvania law prohibits the employment of minors under 18 years of age in extra-hazardous occupations, there were 59 fatal accidents to children of 16 and 17 years during this period.

In Kentucky, during the year 1917-18, 213 children 16 years, 30 children 15 years, 10 children 14 years and 2 children 13 years of age actually received compensation for injury.

The State Industrial Board of Indiana reports 993 accidents to children 16 years and under during the year 1919-20.

Such reports have a two-fold significance. The fact that so large a number of children are injured is in itself serious and emphasizes the necessity for proper vocational guidance for children before entering industry and for greater supervision of children while at work. Even more significant, however, is the fact that in spite of multitudinous safety devices and safety campaigns, the high per centage of injuries sustained by boys and girls as compared with older workers continues. Children are surrounded with as great if not greater safeguards. On the whole they are employed in less hazardous occupations. Yet accidents are common. It



suggests that there is something inherent in adolescence which makes boys and girls more prone to accident than adults. George B. Mangold says on this point in *Problems of Child Welfare*: "The child is more prone to accidents than the adult, and will suffer even in industries regarded as comparatively safe, since young boys and girls are naturally careless. Children cannot concentrate their attention on their work, and are therefore frequently the victims of accidents which maim them for life and lessen or destroy their economic capacity."

The report of the textile mill in New England referred to above explains the high percentage of accidents to children as follows:

"The peculiar susceptibility of young people to accidents is probably due to a combination of influences, of which inexperience and unfamiliarity with the work and the necessary precautions, carelessness and a form of bravado, lack of attention and concentration due to lack of training, as well as possible greater exposure to the objective dangers of their trades play a part."

Raymond G. Fuller has expressed the same conviction:

"There is in early adolescence peculiar liability to industrial accident, for this is the awkward stage when the finer movements and co-ordinations cannot well be accomplished. Besides this adolescent awkwardness and lack of muscular control, we must count among the causes of industrial accidents to young workers, the general irresponsibility and carelessness of childhood and youth, together with the strong impulses of play."

That children are adventurous and careless and that this is probably as important an element as fatigue in causing accidents is borne out by such instances as the following reported to the Massachusetts Industrial Accident Board (see *American Child*, November, 1920.)

Some one attracted B's attention while he was lifting a gear guard. The right index finger was caught and amputated to the first joint. When asked why he lifted the cover, he replied, "Just for fun."

After the machinery had started, C— felt of a bearing to see whether it was hot. His right hand was caught and injured.

An errand boy had his right hand forefinger crushed as a result of a foolish effort to see how near he could put his finger to the moving lathe.

The same spirit of foolish adventure prompted another boy to



uncover some gears and see how close he could put his fingers to them without being caught. He lost his left middle finger.

There were several accidents which occurred when boys gratified a childish desire to experiment with machinery operated by older, more experienced workers.

If boys and girls in their teens are inherently unable to give the careful and continued concentration to work necessary to prevent accident, what is the solution? Because these accidents are sometimes due to their own carelessness it does not necessarily follow that they can be prevented, for this carelessness itself is a characteristic of young people, often intensified by the strain of industrial life unnatural to youth. Nor is accident compensation, even though it waive the fact of carelessness, the answer; there can be no real compensation for a permanent disability, even though partial, especially when it comes to a young person. The solution must be one which prevents these accidents, not one which atones for them. The only possible remedy is to keep children from working in occupations which may cause injury until they are of an age when they can reasonably be expected to withstand fatigue and to exercise proper care. Already 35 states recognize the need for prohibiting employment, under 16 years, in dangerous occupations and 9 states under 18 years in extra-hazardous employment (compilation made by Dr. H. H. Mitchell, National Child Labor Committee). As Dr. Mangold points out, however, unless the industries or processes are detailed, such laws are of little value. These laws must be strengthened in two directions:

- (1) By specifying and increasing the list of occupations which are regarded as dangerous and hazardous and are forbidden to children under 16 or 18, depending upon the law in each state.

- (2) By raising the age at which children may be allowed to enter industry, or at least factory work. The very fact that industrial accidents are so great among children, in spite of all the precautions which may be taken, is final proof that children are not qualified for adult labor at the age of 14 or even 16 years. While they may be physically able to perform such work, their attitude of mind, their lack of muscular control, their general immaturity renders them unusually susceptible to injury. Against this they must be safeguarded even though it may mean a rigid limitation on the type of work they may enter.

### History of Federal Child Labor Legislation

The growth of popular interest in the restriction of child labor is clearly reflected in the platforms of our political parties. The Prohibition Party in 1872 was the first political group of any importance to include a clause against child labor in their party platform. The Democratic Convention of 1892 introduced a plank which read, "We are in favor of the enactment by States of laws for abolishing the notorious sweating system, for abolishing contract convict labor, and for prohibiting the employment in factories of children under 15 years of age." In 1904 the Socialist Party first pledged itself "to watch and work, in both the economic and the political struggle . . . for the complete education of children and their freedom from the workshop." In 1912 the Progressive Party declared for a federal child labor law, and in 1916 both the Democratic and Republican Parties stood for the immediate enactment of such a law.

The first attempt to pass such a federal law was the Beveridge-Parsons bill which was introduced in Congress in December, 1906. This was based on the provision that the carriers of interstate commerce, the railroads and steamboat lines, should not transport the products of any factory or mine that employed or permitted the labor of children under 14 years of age. In January, 1907, Senator Beveridge made his famous three-day speech for the bill, but without success. This bill was again presented in 1907 and was later added as an amendment to the District of Columbia child labor bill but failed to come to a vote in either house. Senator Lodge also proposed a similar bill in 1907; this was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor, but was never reported. The Kenyon bill, another virtual repetition of the Beveridge bill, was unsuccessfully presented in every Congress until 1914.

In December, 1912, and again in 1914 the progressive element introduced the Copley-Poindexter bill. This differed from previous bills in that it defined as "anti-social child labor" the employment of a child under fourteen in any mill, factory, cannery, workshop, manufacturing or mechanical establishment, or of a child under sixteen in any mine or quarry, or in any other dangerous, injurious or immoral occupation, and prohibited the shipment in interstate commerce of the products of such labor. While this bill was still being considered, the Palmer-Owen bill, drafted by the National



Child Labor Committee, was presented before Congress. This again differed from any of the preceding bills. Instead of putting the burden upon the carrier, it made it a misdemeanor for the producer, for the man who was responsible for the labor itself being employed, to put into interstate commerce the products of any mine or quarry where children under 16 were employed, the products of any mill, cannery, workshop, factory, or manufacturing establishment in which children under 14 were employed, or where children between 14 and 16 were compelled to work more than eight hours a day, or between 7 o'clock at night and 7 o'clock in the morning. This bill was passed by the House on February 15, 1915, by a vote of 233 to 43, but was killed in the Senate on the last day of the session.

Finally the Keating-Owen bill, repeating the substance of the Palmer-Owen bill, was signed by the President on September 1, 1916, and went into effect September 1, 1917, only to be declared unconstitutional June 3, 1918. This was a check but not a defeat. If federal legislation could not be achieved through use of the power over interstate commerce, there were thought to be other ways of bringing about the same result. On November 15, 1918, Senator Pomerene introduced the federal taxing measure as an amendment to the Revenue Act. The standards were exactly the same as those established by the first federal child labor law, but the new law was based on the taxing power of Congress—a tax of 10 per cent in excess of all other taxes to be levied upon the entire net profits from the products of mills, canneries, workshops, factories, manufacturing establishments, mines or quarries employing children contrary to the specific standards laid down by the act. This law made such child labor prohibitive because it made it too costly to be worth while. It has been challenged as unconstitutional by the same Federal Judge who questioned the constitutionality of the first law, and the case is now pending in the Supreme Court.

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### **Constitutionality of the Federal Child Labor Law**

On August 22, Judge James E. Boyd, United States Judge for the Western District of North Carolina, reaffirmed the unconstitutionality of the Federal Child Labor Tax Law. The opinion was rendered in the case of the Vivian Cotton Mills of Cherryville,



North Carolina, who asked for an order restraining the Collector of Internal Revenue from enforcing the provisions of the Act. The constitutionality of Title XII, Revenue Act of 1918, spoken of as the Federal Child Labor Tax Law, was first attacked in a decision by Judge Boyd when, on May 1, 1919, he enjoined the Atherton Mills, Charlotte, North Carolina, from curtailing the hours, or dismissing from their employ, one John W. Johnston, then between 14 and 16 years of age. This case was argued on appeal before the United States Supreme Court on December 10, 1919, but no decision has been handed down. On June 6, 1921, however, after the death of Chief Justice White, the case was sent down for re-hearing. It is now on the docket as Number 16, set for the October term of court, and a decision is hoped for at an early date.

The fight for federal protection of children against child labor has not been lost, perhaps it has only just begun. Twice the people of the whole United States have legislated against this nationwide, nation-weakening, nation-shaming evil, and if they lose their second law in the courts, as they did their first one, on the question of constitutionality, well then, they can change the constitution. At least they must consider the advisability of a change. Attention may be called to several widespread misapprehensions that have followed the recent ruling of Judge Boyd. In the first place, it was not an opinion on child labor that Judge Boyd rendered, but had to do only with the question of the constitutional powers of Congress and the reserved rights of the States. In the second place, the ruling is not final, so far as the issue of constitutionality is concerned. That issue has been before the United States Supreme Court at Washington for over a year on appeal from a preceding case and has not yet been decided. Only the Supreme Court of the United States can settle the question of constitutionality. In the third place, the law is in force throughout the nation except as its operation has been affected locally by Judge Boyd's injunctions of May 1, 1919, and August 22, 1921.

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#### **International Regulation of Child Labor**

In the October number of the Official Bulletin of the International Labor Office are presented reports for consideration by the Governing Body of the International Labor Office which held its ninth session in Geneva on October 19.

Among the matters dealt with is the application to agriculture of the Washington Convention concerning the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment. Replies to a questionnaire were received from sixteen governments. Only four, however, favor the application of this convention to agriculture. The majority feel that conditions in agriculture are so different from conditions in industry that the same approach is unnecessary and impossible. They take the stand either that the present education laws exercise the necessary control or that work of this type does not demand control. Although there is a general recognition in their replies of the necessity of preventing agricultural work from interfering with education there is little stress on the effect of such work on the health of the child.

The text of the draft presented to the Conference for its consideration, based upon the replies to the questionnaire, is as follows:

#### ARTICLE 1

Children under the age of fourteen years shall not be employed or work in any public or private agricultural undertaking, or in any branch thereof, during the hours of compulsory school attendance.

#### ARTICLE 2

It shall be possible for purposes of technical instruction or vocational training to employ children in agriculture on exceptional work or in connection with the harvest, provided that such work is without prejudice to attendance during compulsory school hours.

The period and hours of attendance may be arranged in such a way as to admit of such employment always provided that the annual period of school attendance be not reduced to less than eight months.

#### ARTICLE 3

The provisions of Article 1 shall not apply to work done by children in technical schools, provided that such work is approved and supervised by public authority.

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### **Employment Certification in New York**

The New York Child Labor Committee obtained significant data on the issuance of employment certificates in New York State outside of New York City by studying the health officers' reports



sent to the State Industrial Commission during the year ended June 30, 1920. In this period the duty of issuing employment certificates and summer vacation permits to children fourteen and fifteen years of age rested on the health officers. The more important findings may be summarized as follows:

In places outside of New York City, health officers examined 19,542 children for employment certificates and 629 others for summer vacation permits.

Employment certificates were illegally issued to 389 children and vacation permits to two children.

Of 19,512 children for whom there was age data, sixty-three per cent were fifteen years of age and thirty-six per cent fourteen years of age. The percentage of children who were fourteen years old were 40, 38, 33 and 29 respectively in the first, second and third class cities and in places outside of cities.

Slightly less than two-thirds of the children for whom information was available completed the eight-year elementary school course and many of these had attended a year or more of high school. A poorer educational showing was found in country districts, the percentage of eighth-grade graduates being 57, while in first class cities it was 68.

Approximately 86 per cent of the children presented better types of evidence—birth records, passports, or baptismal certificates—as proof of their age. The percentages of children presenting these kinds of evidence in cities was 87 while in rural sections it was 75. In ten cities fourteen to thirty-six per cent of the children were improperly granted employment certificates upon filing affidavits as the only proof of age, a practice followed to a lesser degree in other places.

Health officers in 194 places failed to record a single physical defect among the 663 children examined by them. Of 20,171 children examined for employment certificates or vacation permits 6,236, or thirty per cent, had one or more physical defects. Sub-normal vision and decayed teeth formed seventy-five per cent of these defects. In Buffalo and Rochester sixty-eight per cent of the physically defective children were refused certificates either outright or until corrective treatment has been secured. In second class cities the per cent was four, in third class cities two, and in rural places less than one.



### **Child Employment in Post Offices**

The Postmaster General of the United States has taken the stand that state child labor laws must be complied with in the employment of children in post offices as special delivery messengers. During the war, when labor was difficult to secure, many children under 16 and even under 14 years were employed in this capacity and permitted to work at night; in some cases this practice has been continued, it being held that the United States government is the employer and therefore not subject to state legislation. The Postmaster General, however, in a letter to the Postmaster of Pittsburgh, has directed that children under 16 be dismissed and no more employed without a certificate of authority from the Department.

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### **Visiting Teachers and Child Welfare**

The Public Education Association of New York has just published a report of a survey of the work of visiting teachers made by the National Association of Visiting Teachers and Home and School Visitors. This report gives a complete and interpretative account of this work as it has been developed in various communities. The results which are being achieved suggest that this is one means by which a closer relation between the school and child welfare activities may be realized.

The idea of the visiting teacher was first put into practice fifteen years ago in New York, Boston and Hartford. Since that time it has spread to 28 cities in 15 states, generally distributed over the country. In some other communities a similar type of work is being done but under a different name. Although the work of the visiting teachers in these cities has been developed independently and differs somewhat in character, it has a common purpose—with the child as the center of interest, to bring together the home and the school. The visiting teacher exists primarily for problem children—those who for some reason have not been able to make the proper adjustment at school. It differs from the work of the attendance officer and the probation officer, however, who likewise deal with this type of child, in that, if successful, it reaches these children before they are known to the attendance officer or the probation officer—in fact, it forestalls the need of their intervention.

Cases involving maladjustment in scholarship constitute the type most frequently referred to the visiting teacher, and on this point the report states: "Among the causes for deficiency in lessons due to conditions outside of the school that are most frequently mentioned in the reports are: After-school work, excessive housework, exhausting 'finishing' or other factory home work; lack of time for recreation, rest and study; lack of parental control leading to late hours and bad companionship; indifference of child or parent toward school progress, or ignorance of child's class standing; no place to study; poor nutrition; unhygienic living; neurotic disorders; nervousness caused or aggravated by financial difficulties or domestic quarrels. With all these factors the visiting teacher copes. When she has discovered the cause, her next step is to adjust it." The readjustment, of course, is an individual matter and requires co-operation with various social agencies—both public and private.

Other types of cases handled are those involving adverse home conditions, irregular attendance, misconduct, lateness and physical condition. For all the visiting teacher must determine the basic trouble, and, working through the school, the home and the outside agencies, seek to adjust it. She not only steps in when there is something obviously wrong, but is on the watch for any situation which if ignored might lead to trouble. She interviews the child who is leaving school prematurely, and if economic necessity is not the real motive, seeks to find educational facilities adapted to his need; she gives vocational advice to those entering employment; tries to find the right place in school for the precocious child; recommends suitable recreation for after-school hours. Hers is the problem of child labor, of school leaving, of recreation, delinquency, health, home conditions—there is no phase of child welfare with which she does not come in contact.

The visiting teacher undoubtedly has an important place in the school system. From the point of view of the teacher many difficult problems are cleared up. From the point of view of the child an understanding is secured which the teacher unfamiliar with home conditions cannot give. From the point of view of the home, the needs of the child are realized—sometimes for the first time. The visiting teacher must understand child psychology and—what is equally important—must have the ability to apply that knowledge to practical ends, not only that she may deal intelligently and sym-



pathetically with the individual child and interpret his needs to his teacher, but that she may explain to his parents, in language they understand, the necessity of providing for the child a balanced life—one that includes recreation, physical activity, opportunity for creative work as well as the usual routine of school and home life.

In most communities the visiting teacher constitutes a new type of person in child welfare work. The function of the attendance officer is generally regarded as compulsion; he is called upon only when the law is violated. (The number of communities employing sheriffs or police officers for this work bears witness.) Similarly the probation officer is attached to the court, and association of the child with the probation officer usually occurs only after some evidence of maladjustment has been shown through delinquency, or poor home conditions demonstrated through obvious neglect. The visiting teacher, however, has not these associations and can meet the family from a different approach.

It is significant that up to the present time this work has been developed only in fair-sized cities. The need for visiting teachers is no less in smaller cities and towns and in counties. As a rule, however, these communities are reluctant to introduce new features, especially to create new positions, without which they have gotten along in the past. Many have not yet even an attendance officer or a probation officer, and there would be little possibility of persuading them to employ a visiting teacher whose work is less well known and for which they would probably see little justification. It is true, moreover, that the finances of these communities could not support several workers in the child welfare field. In such communities, it should be possible, however, to work out an arrangement whereby one individual with a social point of view and trained in case-work could combine the work of attendance officer, probation officer and visiting teacher. What this person should be called is a matter of minor importance. The three types of work are closely related, and with an agent whose vision was broad enough to sense the possibilities of the work now done by the visiting teacher, there should be less and less need for emphasis on the police side of the work, except in extraordinary cases.

As a result of its studies in rural communities the National Child Labor Committee for some time has been advocating a joint county officer for child welfare work. The school, for it affects



every child in the community, is perhaps the logical center for such work, and it may be that the visiting teacher, rather than the attendance officer or the probation officer, will prove to be the starting point for this movement.

An effort should be made to interest not only social organizations, but school and community organizations, in the work of the visiting teacher. The Parent-Teacher Associations, for instance, might well consider the possibility of employing a visiting teacher or a joint officer for a year or two—to give the idea a trial. If it prove successful, as it has practically wherever tried, they have a practical demonstration on which to base a request that the school board take over this work. Finance should not be a deterrent. In many communities the Parent-Teacher organizations now raise large sums for school equipment, furnishings, industrial work, etc.—legitimate school expenses which should be met by the school board. It is time for them to consider whether they should not turn over to the school board the responsibility for furnishing and equipping the schools and give their attention to more experimental ideas, such as that of the visiting teacher, testing them out and determining their value for their particular community.

The possibilities of this work are unlimited. A live child-welfare worker if she inspires confidence may easily become an important influence in the community, and using her case-work as a basis may be able to initiate plans for community recreation, for school improvement, for health protection, etc. This, of course, is the most constructive aspect of case-work, and for it the visiting teacher has an exceptional opportunity.

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### The Status of Rural Education

The facts and figures presented by Miss Mabel Carney of Teachers' College in her contribution to this issue of *The American Child* show strikingly that country boys and girls suffer a severe educational handicap by very reason of living in the country. This should not be. Whether the solution is that which Miss Carney proposes we cannot say. Probably no legislative measure, federal or state, could put an end to the conditions described. But that these conditions present a challenge to the patriotism, conscience, and intelligence of American citizens everywhere there is not the least doubt.

Have you read "Farm Labor vs. School Attendance," by Miss Gertrude H. Folks, the National Child Labor Committee's specialist on schools? It was published in *The American Child* for May, 1920.

### Recent Activities of the Child Health Organization

The Child Health Organization of America cooperated last spring with the New York Central Railroad and the Home Bureau of the School of Home Economics of Cornell University in routing a health special through New York State. Thirty towns were visited by the special. Miss Anne Raymond, the Health Fairy, who is also an Associate Director of the Organization, gave fairy performances for the school children who came to see her at the stations, and held conferences with teachers and parents on vitalized health teaching. The children were delighted at the idea of a really truly fairy touring in state on her own special train. Miss Raymond was on the staff of the Institute held at Chatauqua, N. Y., this summer. Beside holding conferences with parents and teachers, telling stories every day, measuring, weighing and tagging all the kinderggarten and elementary school children, and doing a few of the other things that make a fairy's life interesting, she put on a fairy pageant with one hundred children after only one rehearsal. It was presented in the amphitheatre before six thousand enthusiastic people, and furnished a convincing proof of the wonderful response that children give to dramatized health education.

This fall the Organization has put out two publications for children. One of them, "Happy's Calendar," is especially designed for older school boys and girls. It is a collection of pungent droleries, driving home the "rules of the health game," one for each day in the school year, and is unique in that it runs from September through June, instead of from January to January. It was written by Happy, of Healthland, one of the Child Health Organization's dramatic characters and is illustrated with amusing character sketches by Jessie Gillespie. The other publication is Cho-Cho's Health Game. This consists of 52 miniature cards, printed on shiny card-board in bright colors, and packed in a cunning little box. The rhymes and pictures, arranged by Margaret Gieb, from the "Child Health Alphabet," have been cleverly used to furnish for children both an absorbing game, and a lesson in health. Instructions for playing are in every box.



Of all the adventures in dramatizing health education for children that the Child Health Organization has recently embarked on, one of the most spectacular was launched in New York last April, when personified health habits marched down Fifth Avenue as the health section of the Boys' Loyalty Parade. Milk Bottle, followed by a whole troupe of fruits, vegetables and good habits, went striding down the street, lashing Teapot and Coffeepot with a cat-'o-nine-tails, made of tiny milk bottles. The value of the dramatic element in health education as illustrated in this parade dropped like a pebble into the consciousness of the onlookers, and the ripples therefrom are still widening.

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### **Child Health Demonstration**

The City of Mansfield and Richland County, Ohio, has been chosen as the site for the child health demonstration to be conducted by the National Child Health Council. Although more than eighty communities applied for the demonstration, it was difficult to find one which did not have some factor—of immigration, industry, social organization—tending to make it unique. The aim was to select a typical community, one sufficiently near the average in all respects to render the results of the study applicable to other places. Mansfield, a city of 27,824 and Richland County, of which it is the county seat, with a population of 55,778 seemed to approach this requirement. It is a manufacturing center with varied industries, and during the last few years has made a steady growth in population, business interests and the development of civic interests and activities.

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### **Child Labor Day 1922**

Child Labor Day in 1922 will be what the members of this Committee make it. This year we are depending on our members to secure a proper observance of the occasion in their own communities, asking them to see editors, clergymen, teachers and others personally, instead of trying to reach all these people by publicity direct from the office. We will cooperate with you in furnishing material for your use and theirs. You can save us money by taking an active part in promoting the observance of Child Labor Day, and your personal work will be much more effective than anything we could do by mail at long range.



## **The American Child**

**A Journal of Constructive Democracy**

**Published Quarterly**

**OWEN R. LOVEJOY** - - - - - *Editor*

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### *Associate Editors*

**EDWARD N. CLOPPER**

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### *Contributing Editors*

**GERTRUDE H. FOLKS**

**DR. HAROLD H. MITCHELL**

**CHARLES E. GIBBONS**

**WILEY H. SWIFT**

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### *Address:*

**NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE**  
**105 East 22nd Street - - New York City**

## **Contributors to this Issue**

Miss Mabel Carney is professor of rural education, Teachers' College, Columbia University, and secretary of the division of rural education, National Education Association.

John F. Smith is professor of social science in Berea College Academy and one of the most interesting of sociological writers.

Miss Gertrude M. Folks, Dr. H. H. Mitchell and Raymond G. Fuller are members of staff of the National Child Labor Committee.

# SEVENTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

of the

## NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

For the Fiscal Year Ending September 30, 1921

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OWEN R. LOVEJOY, *General Secretary*

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For most social agencies these post-war years have meant retrenchment, due of course, to the difficulty in raising funds and the increase in the cost of operation. The National Child Labor Committee has felt the pinch of hard times along with everyone else. Our income for 1920-21 was \$104,199.02, as compared with \$118,723.20 in the previous year. Yet it is gratifying fact that we have no reduction of activities to report. **In spite of a reduced income and the high cost of operation, we are recording this year more important activities and more valuable achievements than ever before.**

Of course we have a deficit. But it is less than that with which we closed the previous fiscal year, and in view of the range of our activities is surprisingly small. The fact is that in 1921 this Committee has instituted careful economies, stretched its resources to the utmost, and so brought in a remarkable record of results along all of the four lines into which our work falls.

We realize that it is asking a good deal to suggest that our members and friends actually read so voluminous a document as an annual report, yet we feel that there is real interest in the following pages and that, if you will take time to glance them over, encouraging discoveries as to progress in 1921 may be your reward.

### I. INVESTIGATION

It is scarcely necessary to remind you that since 1917 our field staff has concentrated on state surveys, intensive studies of child welfare conditions in a given state, made at the request of an official board or group of citizens, usually in preparation for a

Children's Code, and always for the purpose of giving to that state not merely theories, but first-hand, expert interpretation of the conditions under which its children are living from day to day. This year our study was of West Virginia.

Most of us think of West Virginia as a coal-mining state, but the fact is that 85 per cent of its child-population lives in districts classified as rural, and so this study of ours, made under the direction of Mr. Edward N. Clopper, and occupying eight special agents for a period of over six months, is distinctly a study of the country child. As a background, data concerning the chief economic and social factors determining the lives of 700 rural families were secured. Then more specialized studies were made of child labor on the farm, rural school attendance, rural child dependency, the personnel and procedure of rural courts dealing with children, the application of child welfare laws to rural children, and rural recreation. Coming as it does at a time when we are realizing more and more the long neglect of the American country child, this survey is of immense value, and we believe that the complete report, now in preparation, will be the most detailed record ever published of conditions surrounding country children.

In addition, a special study was made of "The Enforcement of Child Labor Laws in West Virginia," published in *The American Child*, August, 1921. Just previous to our survey the federal Children's Bureau had investigated conditions in two of the coal-mining counties, and the National Committee for Mental Hygiene had completed a study of feeble-mindedness in the state. Therefore, with these two surveys and our report, the State of West Virginia now has an unusually complete record of facts on which to base its future work for children. A Child Welfare Commission was created by the last legislature, which should open the way for future and permanent improvement.

### Other Investigations

Although our field staff was tied up in West Virginia for many months, the following other studies were made:

Alabama—Survey of Alabama child welfare laws for the state Child Welfare Commission.

Kentucky—Study of children's institutions in the state for the Louisville Council of Social Agencies.



Michigan—Study of children's institutions in Detroit at the request of the Michigan Child Welfare Commission.

New Jersey—Study of health conditions among pupils in continuation schools, Newark.

(This work, still going on, is important enough to deserve special explanation. Heretofore the emphasis in child health work has always been on infants and school children, but the boy or girl who has an employment certificate and is at work has received scant attention. Consequently authoritative information as to the health of the working child has been slight. These records, which we are now securing among a group of children actually in industry, will furnish one of the first complete health records of such a group, and will be used as the basis for further study and recommendations. They will, we hope, throw new light on the actual physical effects of labor upon children of 14 and 15.)

Short investigations in connection with legislative programs, or preliminary to possible state surveys or to the appointment of code commissions, have also been made in Connecticut, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, and Vermont.

At present some of the reports on the above studies are still in process of completion and the following other field work is under way:

- (1) Study of child welfare agencies in Westchester County, N. Y., for the Westchester County Children's Association.
- (2) Preliminary survey of rural child labor in Louisiana and Mississippi.

## Coordination

Under this head, we call special attention to our practice of carefully coordinating our field work with that of other agencies. Most of our investigations are made at the request and with the help of local child welfare groups and we never undertake a study that will overlap work done in the vicinity by another agency. In West Virginia, as has been stated, two studies had been made shortly before ours and therefore we planned our work so that the three investigations might be regarded as supplementary to one another. In another state this year the Federation of Women's Clubs asked us to make a survey, but when we learned that a federal agency was preparing for a study there we withdrew. When the federal investigation is completed, if there appears to be need of further

study of any special topics, we shall be glad to undertake it, but our members may be assured that the National Child Labor Committee will never knowingly be a party to duplication of effort in the child welfare field.

### **Finance**

It is our policy to ask the local groups who invite us to make investigations to finance them so far as possible. For instance, the local association is bearing the whole expense of the Westchester County study mentioned above and our Field Secretary is on leave of absence to do the work at no expense to this Committee. In Alabama, the State Child Welfare Commission appropriated a sum for the investigation and the same thing is true in Kentucky. But as a rule the overhead, at least, falls upon us, and in the case of state surveys we cannot expect the local group to contribute more than one-half of the actual expense. Therefore our ability to carry investigations to the places where they are needed, where they are indeed welcomed and we are sure of the fullest local cooperation, depends directly upon our own financial resources.

## **II. LEGISLATION**

Nineteen hundred and twenty-one was what is known as a "big legislative year" since 42 state legislatures were in session; one state held a constitutional convention, and Congress considered a new child labor law for the District of Columbia. In almost every one of the 42 legislatures some measure relating to child labor or child welfare were on the program and in ten of these states reports of Child Welfare or General Code Commissions were considered. Since our field staff was working in West Virginia at exactly the time when most of the legislatures were in session we were greatly handicapped. But members of the staff visited 26 states on legislative business; the publicity and research departments sent material for legislative use to eleven states; and the General Secretary early last fall wrote to members or officials in every one of the states having sessions, and offered our help and advice, which action resulted in our assisting through correspondence in many states which the staff could not visit.

It is no unusual thing for us to receive urgent telegrams, dur-



ing the legislative year, saying something of this kind: "Child Labor bill going badly. Can you send someone?" Of course with a limited staff and limited funds, we cannot always respond "Yes," but we feel that the record of having actually visited 26 states this year for legislation is an excellent one. Giving advice by correspondence means help in the wording of bills, information for use in campaigning, publicity material, and personal suggestions as to the best way of handling a difficult legislative situation. This Committee has a recognized position as an authority on children's laws, and each year meets growing demands for its help.

Although the year was generally recognized as a poor one for progressive legislation, a number of definite gains were made.

Connecticut

enacted an 8-hour day and night work prohibition for children under 16 to comply with the federal regulation; raised the age limit to 14 for employment in shoe-shine parlors, and incuded children under 16 in bowling-alleys in the night-work prohibition.

Delaware

as a result of the Code Commission's report, in the preparation of which the National Child Labor Committee assisted, created a State Child Welfare commission, repealed the old Apprenticeship law under which children have been "bound out" and made a number of changes in the health, marriage and juvenile court laws, but failed to improve the child labor law as recommended.

Illinois

raised the educational requirement for employment certificates from the 5th to the 6th grade, increased the amount of grant for mothers' pensions, and made attendance at continuation school compulsory for all children 14 to 18 in and after 1925. It should be noted here that a bill to break down the restrictions governing child labor on the stage was introduced but at the request of citizens of the state the National Child Labor Committee entered a protest, sent a special agent to fight the bill, and it was never acted upon.

Indiana

improved her child labor and compulsory attendance laws, and made attendance at continuation school compulsory for unemployed children, 14 to 17, and employed children, 14 to 18, after September, 1921.

Kansas

established a Bureau of Child Research.

Maine

raised her compulsory schooling requirement.



- Massachusetts extended the scope of her employment certificate law, amended her street-trades law with regard to night-work, extended the 8-hour day and night-work laws to cover all gainful occupations for children under 16, but did not raise the age limit for employment from 14 to 16, although a hot campaign was waged for such a change.
- Minnesota passed a street trades law, and increased the mothers' pensions grant.
- Missouri following the report of the Code Commission, enacted a number of laws dealing with dependent children, illegitimacy, institutions and juvenile courts, and amended the child labor law, but unfortunately made no educational requirement for employment certificates and failed to pass any of the bills improving the school laws, or a street trades bill.
- Nebraska as a result of the Code Commission report, raised the school age to 16, provided a minimum school term of 9 months for both city and county and made school attendance compulsory to 18 for unemployed children who have not completed high school.
- Nevada raised the school age limit to 18, and provided for better enforcement of the school attendance laws, but amended the child labor law to read that a child of 14 or over may be excused from school attendance if his labor is required for his own or his parents' support.
- New Hampshire reduced the legal working week for boys under 16 and girls under 18 from 58 hours to 54, but has not yet attained the 48-hour standard set by the Federal Tax Law.
- New Mexico established Departments of Public Welfare, Child Welfare and a Bureau of Public Health, and passed a comprehensive child labor law, the first of its kind in this state.
- North Dakota created a Children's Code Commission.
- Ohio improved her already progressive laws by raising the school age, increasing the school term, requiring employment certificates for all children under 18, increasing the penalty for violation of child labor or school laws, raising the part-time school requirements, and increasing the amount of mother's pension grants.
- South Dakota raised the compulsory school age from 16 to 17, improved the juvenile court law and made an appropriation for the Child Welfare Commission.
- Tennessee passed a state-wide juvenile court law.

West Virginia

established a Child Welfare Commission.

Wisconsin

codified its child labor law, extended the age limits for continuation school attendance, increased the schooling requirements for employment certificates, established a Juvenile Department in the State Board of Control, but did not raise the compulsory school age as was expected.

**Legislative Reference**

Of course in addition to campaigning we have kept up our law library for the benefit of our staff and friends. Our law files have been completely revised and brought up to date. Our research department kept in close touch with legislative action throughout the country, and issued bulletins for the use of our staff and trustees. Pamphlets 249, "Child Labor, Compulsory School Attendance and Mothers' Pension Laws," and 297, "Minimum Standards for Child-Protection," have been revised according to the 1921 Acts of Legislatures and are now ready for re-publication. These two pamphlets give brief summaries of the laws of all the states, and are of great value to students, club women, and civic societies.

**Federal Law**

As noted in *The American Child*, the Federal Tax Law regulating child labor will probably come before the Supreme Court for decision on its constitutionality this year. Judge Boyd of the Western District Court of North Carolina declared the law unconstitutional last year and the decision was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. There has been some misunderstanding as to the present status of the law, but the fact is that the decision of the Western District of North Carolina has no effect outside that district. The operation of the law is limited only by Judge Boyd's injunction of May 1, 1919, restraining the Atherton Mills from curtailing the hours in dismissing from their employ a boy, John W. Johnston, then between 14 and 16 years of age, and by the later injunction of August 22, 1921, restraining the United States Collector of Internal Revenue from collecting a child labor tax from the Vivian Cotton Mills. In the rest of the United States the law is still in force until such time as the Supreme Court renders an unfavorable decision. If the Supreme Court sustains the law, the decision of the District Court is set aside. The enforcement of the

law is in the hands of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, United States Treasury Department, who has issued rules and regulations governing enforcement, made by the Child Labor Tax Board, consisting of the Secretary of the Treasury, the Commissioner of Internal Revenue, and the Secretary of Labor. Copies of the regulations and the law may be obtained from the Bureau of Internal Revenue.

### III. EDUCATIONAL

Under this head we include all our endeavors to create intelligent public opinion, give out the news of child welfare activities, arouse interest, and pave the way for necessary action. This work makes direct, practical use of the findings of our investigators, prepares for and assists legislative campaigns, and forms the background for all our progress.

#### Publicity

Although we sent out 137 newspaper press stories in 1921, only six of these were what we call "general stories" to our selected list of 1,498 newspapers and periodicals throughout the country. We have concentrated this year on specialized publicity, sending our material only for special definite purposes and to a carefully selected field. For instance, in California, after the publication of Miss Duke's report on child labor in the Imperial Valley, so much interest was aroused that we instituted a follow-up publicity campaign, corresponding with editors, social workers and others and sending special material to the newspapers.

In Tennessee, following our survey, a member of the publicity department spent several weeks making the findings known to the people of the state by means of press releases, interviews with editors and conferences with local committees of interested citizens.

In New York, newspapers were circularized to help defeat the effort in the legislature to destroy the continuation schools.

Publicity in the interest of legislation was carried on in Michigan, Kansas, Kentucky, Rhode Island, Vermont, and West Virginia. Publicity in connection with membership campaigns, announcing speeches by members of the staff, or to follow-up special pieces of work was done in Delaware, Florida, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, New York and Ohio.



Effort was made to get our material into standard magazines, with the result that such journals as *The Independent*, *The New Republic*, the *Literary Digest*, *World's Work*, *Munsey's*, and *The Weekly Review* have used our articles. Thirty-three special magazine articles were prepared during the year and we know of 40 magazines that printed this material.

### **Child Labor Day**

As usual our attempt in connection with Child Labor Day, the fourth Sunday in January, was to secure the widest possible notice of it, and to put our material, free of charge, into the hands of teachers, ministers, librarians, and club leaders throughout the country. Two general announcements were sent out to 1,498 newspapers; 582 magazines were circularized or received special articles; the Federal Council of Churches cooperated in sending our notices to ministers; the Y. M. C. A. sent out our press stories in connection with its Thrift Week publicity; 298 libraries received notices for their bulletin boards; 58 State and County Superintendents of Schools were circularized and distributed our material to their teachers; and a large number of social organizations, interested members, state child labor committees, and others were asked to help us. We issued, as special material, only one pamphlet, "Child Labor Facts—1921," and a small poster announcing Child Labor Day meetings, but 3,475 sets of material for the use of speakers and leaders of meetings were mailed, covering 45 states, the District of Columbia, Porto Rico and Canada. The total cost of Child Labor Day, for printing, postage and mailing was only \$422.07.

### **The American Child**

*The American Child* is growing each year in interest and effectiveness. The circulation is now approximately 12,000 and about 300 libraries receive it regularly. Because we realized that many of our members had access to the magazine in libraries or club rooms, and that to send it to them quarterly was an unnecessary expense, we circularized our entire membership list this year, asking each person to tell us whether he actually used *The American Child* and wanted it, and emphasizing the great cost of publication. Two thousand six hundred and seventy-nine out of the 12,750 persons

addressed, said that they would forego their right to the magazine this year, thus affecting a saving. \$1,699.95 was received from various members as a special emergency fund for the cost of publication of the magazine this year. At present every new member is asked to state whether or not he cares to receive *The American Child*, and it is mailed only to those members who desire it.

That the magazine has already made a place for itself was proved this year when we wrote to a large number of officials and leaders in child welfare work, asking for a frank opinion as to its value. Their replies were so enthusiastic we feel justified in saying that *The American Child* is generally regarded as exactly what we have tried to make it, the authoritative child welfare organ of America. Some of its more important features in 1921 have been Charles E. Gibbons' articles on rural child labor and its background of rural economics, a symposium on rural child labor, Professor John F. Smith's series on "How the Other Half Lives in the Open Country," Dr. Mitchell's discussion of "At What Age Should Children Enter Industry?" and Raymond G. Fuller's papers on the play needs and work needs of children. One important regular feature of the magazine is the summary of "News from the Child Welfare Field," which keeps its readers in touch with child welfare progress not only in America but throughout the world.

### Pamphlets and Other Publications

At the beginning of 1921 we instituted a policy of extreme economy in publications and have issued only four new pamphlets this year: No. 302, Annual Report for 1920; 303, Child Labor Facts, 1921; 304, California the Golden, Miss Duke's report on the Imperial Valley; 305, Child Labor and Rural Tenancy, by Charles E. Gibbons, based on findings in Tennessee, 1920.

Yet there is a continued demand for all our publications, old and new. A total of 39,521 separate publications have been distributed from this office in 1921 to persons in every state in the union and several foreign countries. Wherever possible we make a nominal charge for pamphlets and postage; and usually we find people very glad to pay for them. Libraries, colleges, and other institutions frequently ask for complete files of our publications, and we have sent complete files of *The American Child* as far away as the University of Tokio.



### **Cost of Publicity**

The cost of printing *The American Child* this year was \$6,208.00 as compared with \$11,175.00 in 1920. The cost of pamphlets this year was only \$972.00 as compared with \$2,788.25 last year. We have been criticized for the high cost of publications and publicity by those who may not understand how vital it is to our work, but we have attempted to meet only the most pressing demands for our material, and we are certain that the above record is one of such thorough-going economy that even our most critical friends will approve it.

### **Information**

Although for all of the 17 years of our existence we have been answering urgent requests for information on all subjects relating to child welfare, we have never until February, 1921, been able to organize a special department to handle these requests. The new Research Department, however, has taken over this work and in the eight months of its existence has answered 570 inquiries, ranging all the way from requests for general information as to the extent and distribution of child labor, to special historical questions from graduate students asking for advice in the preparation of theses. The inquiries came from 42 states, the Philippines, Canada, Porto Rico, England, China, Germany, France, Italy and Mexico. They came from professors, graduate students, writers, editors, teachers, school children, club women, business men, ministers, social workers, citizens interested in local legislative campaigns, and all sorts of readers who had seen references to our work and wanted further enlightenment. Records of all these inquiries are kept with a view to advising the publicity department as to the kinds of information most in demand.

In addition, the Research Department has collected information for members of the staff, prepared memoranda for their use in reports and speeches, compiled tables, bibliographies, etc., and hopes in time to create here a clearing house of information relating to our field.

### **Speeches and Conferences**

Members of the staff have spoken in 30 states, in connection with legislation or membership campaigns, local meetings, and club



programs. Since local organizations usually pay all travelling expenses on such occasions, this work is almost no expense to the Committee and spreads interest and knowledge in child labor and child welfare work besides bringing our staff into intimate contact with local leaders all over the country. Members of the staff are frequently invited to attend state conferences of social agencies, and the national conferences of other bodies, and have in 1921 taken part in 18 such meetings, the most important of which are the National Conference of Social Work, the National Council of Agencies Engaged in Rural Work, the annual conference of the National Education Association, a conference of representatives of church agencies on child welfare, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and the meeting called by the National Information Bureau for the discussion of Coordination of Social Agencies. Miss Gertrude H. Folks served on the staff of instructors of an Attendance Officers' School held in Nashville, Tenn., under the auspices of the State Department of Education.

### **National Conference on Child Labor**

Our own national conference was held in Milwaukee in conjunction with the National Conference of Social Work, June 24, 1921. The General Secretary presided, and Charles E. Gibbons and Sara A. Brown of our field staff, Professor E. C. Lindeman, field secretary of the American Country Life Association, and Colonel Homer Folks, secretary of the New York State Charities Aid Association, took part in the program, which was on the subject, "Fair Play for the Country Child." This was our first meeting at which the emphasis was wholly on rural child labor and the interest and timeliness of the subject were evident. After all those 1,420,996 children ten to sixteen years old who are engaged as farm laborers represent one of the most inspiring tasks the National Child Labor Committee has ever faced.

### **National Conference on Social Work**

Members of our staff took part, of course, in the discussions in several of the child welfare sections of the larger conference. Dr. Clopper, the Field Secretary, read a paper before the Public Agencies and Institutions Division on "Child Welfare Work and the State" in which he discussed the articulation of service of juven-

ile courts, compulsory attendance and child labor laws, training schools, placing agencies, and other bodies under a controlling and directing state department. Wiley H. Swift, before the Division on Children, spoke on the juvenile court with special reference to rural communities, and Raymond G. Fuller presented a paper on "The Psychology of Child Labor." Miss Sara A. Brown addressed a meeting of the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, which met in conjunction with the National Conference of Social Work.

### **Membership Campaigns**

Even our membership appeals have an educational value since we never send out one that is not calculated to give the reader information and arouse his interest in child labor and child welfare. Local campaigns were conducted this year in nine cities, where committees were organized and individuals circularized. A special appeal was addressed to 1,950 labor unions, another to a list of 6,898 persons who might be interested, still another to 500 wealthy Americans living abroad, and a fourth through the Social Order Committee of the American Society of Friends. Two emergency appeals were sent to all our members which proved that a large number of those who contributed only \$2.00 a year can give more when directly informed of our great need for further support.

In connection with the membership work, we are glad to announce that Miss Eschenbrenner, Membership Director, absent on leave owing to ill health during 1920-21, has returned to the staff and is once more in charge of the Membership Department.

## **IV. COOPERATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES**

### **Child Health Council**

The National Child Labor Committee is one of the six societies which make up the National Child Health Council, with headquarters in Washington. The other members are the American Child Hygiene Association, the American Red Cross, the Child Health Organization of America, the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, and the National Tuberculosis Association. The work of the Council this year has been largely of organization and preparation for the five-year Child Health Demonstration to take



place in Richland County, Ohio, of which Mansfield, a manufacturing town with a population in 1920 of 27,824, is the center. This will be the most extensive child health demonstration ever undertaken, and much interest has been evidenced in it. Sixty-seven communities applied for the privilege of the demonstration and Mansfield was finally chosen after careful study by a committee of representatives of the Council.

The Council was for the first year financed by the American Red Cross, but during the coming year, while the Red Cross will bear the largest share of the expense, the member organizations, including this Committee, will each furnish a quota. This cooperative effort serves to unify health work for children in this country and exemplifies the welcome tendency of social agencies to get together in these days and actually coordinate their work.

### **National Council of Rural Agencies**

We have cooperated for some time with the American Country Life Association and participated this year in the conference called by it to form a National Council of Agencies Engaged in Rural Social Work. Thirty organizations are now members. The Council has two projects in view: (1) The application of principles of coordination to rural activities, especially in relation to recreation, and (2) to publish a bulletin containing a simplified and condensed country life program together with the programs of the work of the affiliated agencies. President Kenyon L. Butterfield of Amherst, Mass., is chairman, and Professor E. C. Lindeman of Greensboro, N. C., a trustee of this Committee, is secretary.

### **United States Children's Bureau**

It goes without saying that we have always cooperated and always shall cooperate with the Children's Bureau to the fullest possible degree. No private agency can have any official connection with the federal bureau, but we believe we are safe in saying that the National Child Labor Committee and the Children's Bureau are on the closest possible terms of mutual interest and aid. We took part in the Conference on Child Welfare Standards in 1919, and Dr. Mitchell, our special agent on health, has been serving this year on the committee that was the outgrowth of that Conference to establish standards of health protection for working children.



As reported in the public press, ill health has caused the resignation of Miss Julia C. Lathrop, chief of the Children's Bureau since it was organized in 1914, and it is with regret that we call our members' attention to this fact. We, together with the many other friends of the Bureau, are fortunate however, in being able to welcome to the position of chief, Miss Grace Abbott, who had charge of the enforcement of the federal Child Labor Law of 1916. Miss Abbott has long been associated with Miss Lathrop and the Bureau, and has wide experience in child welfare work. We are glad of this opportunity to pledge the heartiest cooperation of the National Child Labor Committee in all her new endeavors.

#### NEW CHAIRMAN OF NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

Another change in personnel that must be here recorded is the resignation of Dr. Felix Adler as chairman of the Board of Trustees of this Committee, and the appointment of Honorable David Franklin Houston to that office. No member of this Committee needs to be reminded of Dr. Adler's years of unique service. As chairman of the Committee since it was organized in 1904 he has proved himself a very practical servant of mankind and of America's children. As Homer Folks, vice-chairman of the Committee, says, "Dr. Adler's Chairmanship of the National Child Labor Committee has given it a standing which has silenced criticism in advance. It has given a well-nigh universal and continuous confidence in the wisdom of the purposes and the fairness of the methods of the organization. . . . The National Child Labor Committee has raised the standards of the equipment for life of multitudes of children. It has been able to do so largely because Dr. Adler's spirit and methods are so wholly in line with sound methods of progress in a democratic country." Dr. Adler has by no means severed his connection with the Committee but remains as Emeritus Trustee.

Since, as Dr. Adler said at The National Conference of Social Work in 1920, the next great task of this Committee, no longer to be neglected, is "to give our assiduous attention to child labor in agriculture," it is very fitting that our new chairman, David Franklin Houston, former Secretary of the Treasury, and of Agriculture, should be a man who is especially interested in the rural problem,

a profound student of it, and an authority on its social and economic problems. Mr. Houston brings to our work keen interest, broad business, educational and social experience, and the belief which we all share that in the National Child Labor Committee there is an opportunity for even greater service than we have yet rendered.

## THE OUTLOOK FOR 1922

We believe such a record of progress this year is a direct inspiration for the future. Some of the plans we have in mind are these:

- (1) Further standardization of state laws and administration.

Twenty-one states are still below the standards of child protection set by the Federal Tax Law. Six of these have legislative sessions in 1922, and we shall devote special attention to them, besides preparing for the sessions due in the other 15 states in 1923.

Besides, Dangerous Trade Laws for children are in need of further study and revision.

The studies of the effect of child labor on health must be continued, giving special attention to physical examinations for work permits, repeated examination of child workers thereafter, development of methods of teaching hygiene to child workers, etc.

Administration of child labor and child welfare laws in the states must be intelligent and free from politics. This Committee is consequently working to encourage the establishment of State Child Welfare Commissions for administration of laws, wherever no similar body exists.

- (2) The regulation of child labor in agriculture is actually a matter of standardization, but is so unique a problem that we feel justified in considering it by itself. Our field work in 1922 will be chiefly in relation to rural child life, emphasizing education and recreation as substitutes for child labor in the country as well as in the factory.
- (3) Graphic publicity to popularize the results of our studies and to make the general public intelligent on the actual conditions of child life in America. Special work of this nature will be done to supplement our newspaper and magazine publicity.
- (4) Promotion of interest in child labor and child welfare through membership campaigns in cities throughout the United States.
- (5) Close cooperation with other agencies through the Child Health Council, Council of Rural Agencies, etc., as indicated above.

This is but the barest outline of the work open to us in 1922. The great question behind all our plans is: Shall we have the funds to carry out the work we see ahead? While our income from membership in 1920 was \$97,065.13, in 1921 it was only \$73,882.35. While we had 1,115 members contributing \$25 or more in 1920,



we had only 659 such members in 1921. On the other hand, we had 1,280 members contributing \$10 in 1921 as compared with only 385 in the previous year. We have found that when an emergency is put before our members many who pledge only \$2.00 find that they can actually give us considerably more. Is not the present situation a sufficient emergency to call for the greatest help that our members can give us? Is not the work ahead of us inspiring enough, the opportunities great enough, to justify special contributions from all who are truly interested in our work to prevent a further reduction in our income in 1922, and a resultant necessary reduction of service rendered? We have by economy and care and hard work produced a wonderful record in 1921. But we are working at the very minimum of expenditure and any further decrease in income can only mean that we must omit some of our plans. As indicated above, we are entering upon a special membership and financial campaign to forestall such an event, but meantime it seems only fair to apprise our present members of the situation and ask them for all the help they can give. Remember it is not our Committee. It is yours. We of the working staff are only your servants to carry your gift of a fair opportunity to America's children.

### TREASURER'S REPORT

For the Year Ended September 30, 1921

Certified by Haskins & Sells, Certified Public Accountants

#### Debits

CASH ON DEPOSIT, OCTOBER 1, 1920.....	\$5,609.40
ADD OUTSTANDING CHECKS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1920, RESTORED TO CASH	55.00

#### RECEIPTS:

Subscriptions.....	\$96,163.17
Sales of Publications.....	312.12
Sales of Photos and Slides.....	35.25
Sale of United States Liberty Loan Bonds.....	4,973.00
Interest:	
United States Liberty Loan Bonds.....	\$502.03
Bank Balances.....	22.47
	524.50
Loan—E. V. Macy.....	2,000.00
Interest Receivable Accrued at September 30, 1920	376.00
	104,384.04
Total Debits.....	\$110,048.44



DEBITS, brought forward..... \$110,048.44

## Credits

## EXPENSES:

Administrative Salaries.....	\$12,000.04
Clerical Salaries.....	22,902.49
Investigations.....	17,451.58
Drafting and Supporting Legislation.....	7,940.00
Publicity.....	14,406.86
Exhibits.....	235.13
Printing.....	5,713.01
Postage.....	3,339.86
Rent.....	1,920.00
Traveling.....	9,914.91
Stationery and Office Supplies.....	1,666.68
Telephone and Telegraph.....	737.83
Purchase of Literature Relating to Child Labor.....	166.33
Special Campaign for extension of Membership.....	4,192.51
Interest on Loans Payable.....	40.62
Miscellaneous.....	839.31

Total..... \$103,467.17

FURNITURE AND FIXTURES..... 213.25

TRAVELING ADVANCE UNREFUNDED AS OF SEPTEMBER  
30, 1921..... 100.00

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE AT BEGINNING OF THE YEAR..... 2,535.89

Total Credits..... 106,316.31

CASH ON DEPOSIT, SEPTEMBER 30, 1921..... \$3,732.13

## STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES

For the Year Ended September 30, 1921

## INCOME:

## Subscriptions:

Collected During Year.....	\$96,163.17
Collected but Unearned at Beginning of the Year.....	6,543.50

Total..... \$102,706.67

Less Collected but Unearned at End  
of the Year..... 4,552.75

Earned During the Year..... \$98,153.92

**Income—Continued:**

Earned on Subscriptions during Year, <i>brought forward</i>	\$98,153.92	
Sales of Publications.....	312.12	
Sales of Photos and Slides.....	35.25	
Donations of United States Liberty Loan		
Bonds (par value):		
Citizens of the State of West Virginia	\$5,000.00	
Mrs. F. D. Berrien.....	150.00	
		5,150.00
Surveys:		
Department of State Charities, State		
of Tennessee.....	\$2,490.00	
Kentucky Child Labor Association..	1,000.00	
State Child Labor Department, State		
of Alabama.....	1,500.00	
		4,990.00
Interest:		
Liberty Loan Bonds.....	\$653.91	
Bank Balances.....	22.47	
		676.38
Profit from Sale of United States Liberty Loan Bonds	78.00	
Cancellation of Old Outstanding Checks.....	55.00	
Total.....		\$109,450.67

**EXPENSES:**

Administrative Salaries.....	\$12,000.04	
Clerical Salaries.....	23,099.60	
Investigations.....	19,978.46	
Drafting and Supporting Legislation.....	7,940.00	
Publicity.....	14,491.86	
Exhibits.....	235.13	
Printing.....	8,398.01	
Postage.....	3,408.22	
Rent.....	1,920.00	
Traveling.....	11,341.52	
Stationery and Office Supplies.....	1,701.68	
Telephone and Telegraph.....	762.87	
Purchase of Literature Relating to Child Labor.....	176.11	
Depreciation of Furniture and Fixtures.....	297.42	
Special Campaign for Extension of Membership.....	4,192.51	
Interest on Loans Payable.....	40.63	
Miscellaneous.....	857.00	
Total.....		110,841.06
DEFICIT FOR THE YEAR.....		\$1,390.39
SURPLUS, OCTOBER 1, 1920.....		9,134.31
SURPLUS, SEPTEMBER 30, 1921.....		\$7,743.92

GENERAL BALANCE SHEET

September 30, 1921

**Assets**

**CASH:**

On Deposit, per Exhibit "C".....	\$3,732.13
In Possession of Traveling Representative.....	100.00

**\$3,832.13**

UNITED STATES LIBERTY LOAN BONDS AT PAR.....	10,150.00
ACCRUED INTEREST ON UNITED STATES LIBERTY LOAN BONDS.....	151.88
DUE FROM KENTUCKY CHILD LABOR ASSOCIATION.....	1,000.00
DUE FROM STATE CHILD LABOR DEPARTMENT, STATE OF ALABAMA.....	1,500.00
FURNITURE AND FIXTURES.....	\$2,974.18
LESS RESERVE FOR DEPRECIATION.....	875.05

**2,099.13**

EXHIBIT PARAPHERNALIA.....	150.00
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**Total..... \$18,883.14**

**Liabilities**

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE.....	\$4,586.47
LOAN PAYABLE (subsequently cancelled through donation).....	2,000.00
UNEARNED PORTION OF SUBSCRIPTIONS COLLECTED.....	4,552.75
SURPLUS, PER EXHIBIT "B".....	7,743.92

**Total..... \$18,883.14**

Respectfully submitted,

OWEN R. LOVEJOY,  
General Secretary.



# HEALTH PROTECTION FOR YOUNG WORKERS

## PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE NEWARK STUDY

H. H. MITCHELL, M.D.

In a previous issue we asked the question, "At What Age Should Children Enter Industry?"\* and pointed out the trend of public opinion on this question. We took the position that the problem required careful study, especially from the health viewpoint, and stated that the writer had already begun a study of the health conditions of 1,200 children working at various occupations in Newark and attending continuation school 3 hours per week. Another paper† indicated the inadequacy of any health protection for working children which is based entirely upon the decision, made at the time the child applies for a work permit, as to whether or not he shall be allowed to work. We have shown that these children enter industry at a critical period in their lives‡ and that special health protection should therefore be provided.

Our investigation in Newark has progressed far enough to offer the results found in studying the visual acuity and mouth conditions of working boys and girls, representing only two of the subjects covered by the study. Further report on the study will be made in the next issue of *The American Child*.

### METHOD OF PROCEDURE

Six hundred and seven boys and 592 girls were examined carefully by two Newark physicians actively engaged in clinical practice. Dr. Mary Cook, who examined the girls, has had a large experience in the Newark School Medical Inspection Service and

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\* "At What Age Should Children Enter Industry," by H. H. Mitchell, *The American Child*, May, 1921.

† "What Is Health Protection For Working Children," by H. H. Mitchell, *The American Child*, August, 1920.

‡ "The Need for Special Health Protection of Employed Adolescents," by H. H. Mitchell, *American Journal of Public Health*, November, 1921.

for several years has been the examiner of the girls applying for employment certificates. The boys were examined by Dr. A. J. Gordon, who had a large experience examining recruits in the army service during the war. Under the close supervision of the writer all children were interviewed by Miss Mary B. McHenry, a high school English teacher in the Newark school system, and the data for each child were placed upon a separate card. Miss Agnes J. Glaser, a teacher in the Newark schools, weighed and measured most of the children, tested their vision with the Snellen card and their hearing by the whisper test, and copied upon the individual record card the record of the examination given at the time of their application for employment certificates. All of this work was done at first by the writer and later in his presence until both assistants had acquired a thorough familiarity with the procedure and had shown ability to carry it on with a high degree of accuracy. All record cards, when completed, were examined by the writer for apparent errors and incomplete recording of data and when necessary returned for verification or further examination. When the children came to be examined they were in readiness with these record cards, complete except for the record of the examination made at the time they started work. This was a great saving of time for the physician and provided him with a fairly accurate history, the age, height, weight, date of beginning employment, Snellen Test for vision, and whisper test for hearing. Both physicians frequently questioned the children further regarding their previous history, noting this information upon the record cards.

#### VISION

Dr. S. Josephine Baker has shown that a classification of cases of defective vision according to age periods reveals a distinct tendency for the proportion of cases to increase during the adolescent period. Such an increase indicates a special need for safeguards against eye-strain among children of this age group. Our method of determining defective vision was entirely by the Snellen Test and therefore revealed only marked errors of ocular refraction. Cases with a small degree of astigmatism, hyperopia, or even myopia were not included although it is generally recognized that such cases may suffer severely from eye-strain.

*Boys.*—Six hundred and sixteen boys were tested for visual acuity; children with glasses were tested with the glasses on, and all cases with a vision of 20-30ths or 20-20ths were regarded as normal. Five hundred and fifty-six boys fell into this normal classification, and 60 boys, or 9.9 per cent showed a visual acuity of 20-40ths or less; 36 of these 60 boys had a visual acuity no better than 20-50ths.

The record of the examination at the time of entrance into employment was available for 51 of the defective cases. Thirty-five, or 68.6 per cent, had less visual acuity when examined by us than at the time of their entrance into employment. Thirteen of these 35 had a vision of 20-40ths and none of them owned glasses; 22 had a vision of 20-50ths or an even greater departure from normal; of these, 12 owned glasses but did not wear them, 7 did not own glasses; only 3 were wearing glasses when examined. Eight of the 51 boys with defective vision had improved in visual acuity since the time of their entrance into employment, and in the case of the 8 remaining boys no change in the visual acuity was detected by the Snellen Test. There were 35 boys with defective vision who had never owned glasses; of these, 20 or 57 per cent, had distinctly less visual acuity than at the time of their examination for working papers; 7 had no record of the original examination and only 3 boys, at the time of our examination, showed signs of improvement since obtaining working papers, and all of these 3 boys had vision at the time of our examination of 20-50ths or less. From the data furnished by the Snellen Test, we conclude that there is a marked tendency for the cases with defective vision to grow worse even during this short period of employment.

Of the boys with defective visual acuity, either with or without glasses, 25, or 41 per cent, had obtained glasses at some previous time in their lives. As the records for the year 1918-1919 showed that 147 children were granted working papers after correction of vision, we may conclude that a fairly large proportion had obtained glasses at the time of receiving their working papers. Twenty-one, or 35 per cent, of those found defective, had glasses but did not wear them; and 35 more, or 58.3 per cent, did not own glasses. Out of a total of 31 boys who had obtained glasses at some time during their lives, only 8, or 25 per cent, wore them regularly. Four of these boys had such correction with glasses that our test regis-



tered them as normal vision, but the other four had vision with glasses that was not better than 20-50ths. It is not unlikely that these four boys were in need of change of glasses. Three of them showed less visual acuity with glasses than at the time of the first examination, and in the case of the fourth the previous record was not found.

In a few cases it may be difficult to obtain the co-operation of the child sufficiently to persuade him to wear glasses when he has defective vision, but whatever the explanation such a large proportion neglecting to wear glasses indicates that the money and energy expended in obtaining glasses for these children were unnecessarily wasted. This condition unquestionably could be remedied to a large extent by proper educational work in the continuation school, either through the teachers or, better still, through the help of a public health nurse.

*Girls.*—A larger proportion of girls with defective vision was found than boys. Six hundred and fourteen girls were examined; 88, or 14.3 per cent, had a visual acuity of 20-40ths or less; of these, 56, or 9.1 per cent, of the total had a visual acuity no better than 20-50ths.

Of these 88 girls with defective vision, the records of the employment certificate examinations were available in 76 cases. Forty-four, or 57 per cent, had less visual acuity at the time of our examination than when they were examined for working papers. Ten, or 13.1 per cent, had shown improvement in visual acuity. Twenty-two had the same visual acuity.

Thirty of the girls with defective vision had never owned glasses, and among these 30 there was a larger proportion whose vision had grown worse than among the total of 76 girls with defective vision, that is 22, or 73.3 per cent of these girls, had less visual acuity than at the time of their entrance into employment. None of these showed any improvement since beginning work, and the original examination record was not available in three cases. This data confirms the conclusion reached from the study of the boys that there is a distinct tendency for cases of defective vision at the time of entrance into employment to grow worse.

Of the girls with defective visual acuity, either with or without glasses, 58, or 65.9 per cent had obtained glasses at some previous time in their lives. Forty-five, or 51+ per cent, owned glasses

but did not wear them, and 30 more, or 34 per cent, did not own glasses. Of the total number of girls examined, 81 had obtained glasses at some time, and only 28, or 34.6 per cent, wore the glasses regularly. Fifteen of these 28 girls wearing glasses had such correction with glasses that the visual acuity was normal; 12 were not obtaining full correction with glasses, shown by our test which indicated a visual acuity no better than 20-50ths, and one girl had a visual acuity with glasses of 20-40ths. Of the 53 who owned glasses but did not wear them, 15 had a vision of 20-40ths, 30 had a vision of 20-50ths or less, and 8 had normal vision. Of these 53 refusing to wear glasses, 17 had less visual acuity than at the time of their entrance into employment; 15 showed no improvement; 6 had improved slightly; the record of the first examination could not be found for 7 cases.

Although not so large a proportion of girls were neglecting to wear glasses as was the case among the boys, the data from the girls is almost equally impressive in showing the need for follow-up work in the continuation schools in order that eye strain may be prevented, and that the efforts directed to the examination of the eyes and the correction of defective vision may yield results.

### TEETH

In general the plan followed for recording teeth conditions was the same that had been used when the children were examined for work permits. Although far from satisfactory, it had the advantage that the records were more nearly comparable with those of the first examination. This method was checked by the classification of Dr. Wm. H. Leak, formerly Director of Oral Hygiene of the New York State Department of Education, and now holding a similar position with the Red Cross. Dr. Leichter, who has had considerable experience working with Dr. Leak, classified about 100 boys and 100 girls in order that we might interpret better the results of the examinations made by the physician. When the results of Dr. Leichter were compared with the examination of the same children by the physician, it was noted that the physicians had not recorded many of the minor dental defects. They had, however, noted most of the cases which fall into the classes "D," "E" and "F" designated by the dentist. We may say, therefore, that the



records of the physician have not exaggerated in any way the actual seriousness of the condition of the teeth. Most of the cases noted as defective by the physician had progressed to such a degree that there was either immediate danger of systemic effects from foci of infection or interference with digestion, or dental caries had progressed to a point where, from the standpoint of the future, such a danger though not yet present was certain unless corrected by a dentist. A few cases diagnosed as gingivitis by the physicians were not concurred in by the dentist, but these were more than balanced by cases diagnosed as gingivitis by the dentist that had not been recorded by the physicians. The physicians made their examinations with a wooden tongue depressor and the minor cavities which could be detected only with a mirror and a fine probe were, of course, overlooked. The physicians very rarely designated any teeth needing extraction. As a further check upon the examination by the physicians, about one-third were re-examined by the writer. All cases needing extraction at the time of this re-examination were noted on the record.

The only cases tabulated were those of children who had worked six months or more and for whom were available the records of examinations given at the time working papers were issued. There were 463 such cases of girls, and 256, or 57.5 per cent had dental defects at the time of our examination. Records of 362 boys were usable. Of these, 195, or 53.9 per cent had dental defects noted by the physician.

Since a considerable number of children had been allowed to obtain their working papers with one or more dental defects, we considered separately cases which had had no dental defect at the time working papers were granted. If an examination at the time of obtaining working papers is adequate protection to the health of the working child during the period of his employment, we should expect to find no dental defects in our examination among those cases that had had no defects when starting work. We found, however, that of 332 girls who had had no defects registered at the time of obtaining working papers and who had worked six months or longer, 167, or 51 per cent, had dental defects at the time of our examination. In the case of the boys, 281 had obtained their working papers with no dental defects and had worked six months or longer, and 143, or 50.9 per cent, had defective teeth at the time of our examina-



tion. So far as dental conditions are concerned, these data alone indicate the inadequacy of the present Newark plan for health protection of working children and the need for continued health service. As a further means of determining the seriousness of these defects, we added together all those cases which had one defective tooth plus gingivitis, those which had decay of one tooth sufficiently serious to need extraction, and those which had two defective teeth or other defects of a more serious nature, that is, we excluded cases with gingivitis but no teeth carious, and those with only one tooth carious but no gingivitis. With this grouping we found that 94 girls, or 28.3 per cent, who had no defects when granted their working papers had a serious condition now. On the same basis, 88 boys, or 31.3 per cent, had serious defects. In other words, of the children whose teeth were regarded as in a satisfactory condition when working papers were granted, 28.3 per cent of the girls and 31.3 per cent of the boys had very serious mouth conditions after six months or more of work.

We found 72 boys who had been permitted to obtain working papers with one defect, and who had worked for six months or longer. Of this group, 46 or 63.9 per cent, had one or more defective teeth at the time of our examination, and 33, or 45.8 per cent, had a serious condition—such as one defective tooth plus gingivitis, or two or more defective teeth including those with gingivitis or those needing extraction. There were 117 girls who had worked six months or longer and who had one defective tooth when their working papers were granted. Of this group, 88, or 75.3 per cent, had dental defects at the time of our examination; and 51, or 43.5 per cent, had serious defects of the type previously described; 23, or 19 per cent, had three or more defective teeth, a condition so serious that danger of interference with their general health in the near future is great, and perhaps already exists.

In the case of nine boys who had two or more dental defects when their working papers were granted and who had been employed six months or longer, six, or two-thirds, had defective teeth at the time of our examination, and all of these six cases had gingivitis; the other three had evidently had some dental work done since the time of their examination for working papers. Similarly, of 14 girls who had had two or more dental defects when their working papers were granted and had worked six months or longer, 11

had one or more dental defects at the time of our examination. Six of these had gingivitis and all except one had two or more defective teeth.

It will be seen from these data that those children who went to work with no defective teeth, even though about half of them were in need of attention at the time of our examination, were in much better condition after six months or more of work than those who had one or more defective teeth at the time their working papers were granted. We may conclude, therefore, that although the correction of defects at the time of going to work is of some value, periodic examinations are necessary in order to call the attention of the children to those defects occurring after beginning work and to insure such corrections as are necessary to the future general health of these workers.

If a child had had defective teeth when he applied for working papers, we might conclude that there had been neglect of dental care. But when we consider that the teeth of some children are in very much better condition than others in spite of the fact that they have seldom used a tooth brush and have never used dental floss or been to a dentist, we must consider that there are other factors causing dental caries. This suggests that children whose mouths are in a bad condition when they apply for working papers will probably need more attention after they have gone to work. In other words the treatment given them at the time of their examination for working papers cannot be considered as sufficient; cases needing attention at that time would be particularly in need of dental care at a later period. Our data showed this to be true partly, however, because a number of children were allowed to go to work with one defective tooth and in a few cases with more than one. We are unable to compare the condition shown by our examination of those children who had received considerable treatment when they applied for working papers and of those who had not needed any treatment at this time because we have no satisfactory records as to the character of the treatment given these children. We do find, however, a greater need for dental attention in those cases which had two or more defective teeth at the time of their application for working papers than for those cases which had no defects noted at that time. One hundred and ninety-nine boys had no dental defects noted when they applied for working papers and



after six months or more of work, 96, or 48.3 per cent, showed dental defects, 25 per cent being serious defects, such as gingivitis plus one defective tooth, teeth in need of extraction, two or more defective teeth, or other more serious defects. Among the girls, there were 253 with no dental defects noted at the time of application for working papers, and 129 or 51 per cent were found by our examiner to have defects; 72 of these or 28 per cent had serious dental conditions of the type described above. Of the 92 boys who had had two or more carious teeth when they applied for working papers, 50 or 54.6 per cent had dental defects noted in our examination and 37 of these or 40.2 per cent of the total had serious dental conditions. Among the 101 girls with two or more defective teeth when they applied for working papers, our examinations found 60 or 59.4 per cent with defective teeth and 42 or 41.5 per cent of the total with serious defects. These data lead unquestionably to the conclusion that from the standpoint of dental conditions there is need for further health service for working children than that now afforded in Newark by the physical examination required for a work permit. The conditions revealed by our examinations might be remedied, to some extent, by stricter requirements for the correction of all defective teeth before granting work permits, but this would not reach the rather large proportion who had no defects sufficiently serious to warrant recognition at the time of going to work but who did have defects six months or more after receiving work permits. Furthermore, such a plan has been considered already by the Supervisor of Medical School Inspection, Dr. George Holmes, but rejected. He decided not to exclude children from employment when only one tooth was in a carious condition because it seemed an unnecessary hardship upon the child applying for a work permit. However, when we consider that the proportion of children with dental defects is larger among children who had been permitted to go to work with one or more carious teeth than among children who had no dental defects when their work permits were granted, we are of the opinion that all cases with serious dental caries in even one tooth should be treated either before the child goes to work or soon after. All cases with tartar or beginning gingivitis should likewise have attention. No working papers should be issued without correction of these conditions unless provision is made for a re-examination within three months at most and for revocation of the permit



if correction is refused or neglected. The less serious cases at the time of the examination for working papers could be urged to have prompt dental treatment, and through follow-up work in the continuation schools, their compliance could be exacted. In this way defects could be prevented from growing worse and corrections could be made without prohibiting the children from employment. Extra emphasis could be placed upon the follow-up work to compensate for any lack of strictness in the issuance of a working paper whenever the examiners felt that treatment of all defective teeth was too great a hardship upon the child. Such a plan is prompted by the fact that the writer has found many conscientious examiners who, feeling that insistence upon the correction of all defective teeth before granting a working paper does frequently work a hardship upon the child, allow many children to obtain working papers who later suffer from serious dental caries. The plan recommended by the Children's Bureau Committee on Physical Standards for Working Children for the issuance of provisional certificates for a period of not more than three months, when treatment of defective teeth has been started but not completed, provides an opportunity for handling these cases where there are no continuation schools and would be of great assistance in the follow-up work of the continuation schools.

A few provisional certificates have been issued in Newark on the understanding that the Attendance Officer will require the child to return to the medical examiner at the end of the provisional period, but this plan has not worked out satisfactorily, probably because of the many other responsibilities thrown upon the Attendance Department. Our records showed a number of children who had obtained provisional papers and who had neither returned to the medical examiner nor obtained corrections of their physical defects, while others had obtained corrections but had failed to return for a regular employment certificate.

Follow-up work in the continuation school provides an opportunity to train the child to care for his teeth. The prompt attention of the dentist to all minor cavities, the periodic dental examination, the removal of tartar and the proper use of the tooth brush and dental floss are all important in the avoidance of the serious train of diseases and handicaps to health that follow neglect of the teeth.

Training in the care of the teeth given at this critical and receptive period of the lives of these young workers can probably be made to bring larger results for the future hygiene of their mouths than training given at any other age period. The appeal to reason becomes effective in the mental life at the age of these continuation school pupils and there is therefore an opportunity to reinforce the earlier training in habits of oral hygiene with an understanding of causes and effects that will support and make effective the instruction and advice given by teachers, nurses, and physicians. Such an opportunity for making the health service effective in the later life of the child is lost under the present plan which requires physical fitness before entering industry but provides no follow-up service in the continuation schools.

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### RURAL CHILD WELFARE

The Macmillan Company announces the early publication of "Rural Child Welfare," a volume based on studies in West Virginia by the field staff of the National Child Labor Committee. The contents are as follows:—Introduction, Edward N. Clopper; The Rural Home, by Charles E. Gibbons; Rural Child Labor, by Walter W. Armentrout; Rural School Attendance, by Gertrude H. Folks; Rural Recreation, by Raymond G. Fuller; Rural Dependency, by Sara A. Brown; The Child and the State, by Wiley H. Swift. The material and treatment are of countrywide significance. Copies of the book may be obtained from the National Child Labor Committee at \$2.00 (cloth bound) as long as our special edition lasts.

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Any movement for the welfare of humanity cannot leave out of account the welfare of the people who live in the open country.—*Kenyon L. Butterfield, National Education Association Meeting, 1920.*

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**Child Labor Day—don't forget it!** Its widespread observance is up to the members of the National Child Labor Committee. Write to the home office for suggestions. We'll help you make the occasion a big success for the children of your community.

Sunday, January 29, for churches (January 28, for synagogues), January 30, for schools, colleges and clubs.



## PINKIE: THE LITTLE COTTON-PICKER\*

JOHN F. SMITH

*(This concludes Professor Smith's story of tenant farm life in the South. Winnie and David, with their children, Pinkey, Billy, Mabel, and Nannie are typical of thousands of renters' families in the cotton growing belt. The dreary background of their life and the harvesting of the cotton crop has been described in previous numbers. This number takes the family through the joys and sorrows that springtime brings to rural homes.)*

### VIII

It was really Billy's trapping which saved the day for the family during the winter months. Rabbits were plentiful and 'possums and coons furnished variety. This not only supplied the table with fresh meat but it furnished an unlimited amount of real fun for the hunter. Pinkie often joined him on his rounds to "look at his traps," or to scare up rabbits. Nig was an ever-present companion, and his constant training kept him in excellent condition. He seemed to realize that much depended on him, at least he learned from experience that his own meals depended chiefly on his own muscle and sagacity. He therefore rose to many an occasion where a more prosperous dog would have given up hope and the chase.

The opening days of spring meant that trapping must cease for that season. Crows began to manifest a keen interest in the fields. They walked about on the ground picking up bugs and worms and followed the plow as the men walked the furrow around the "land." At one spot where a crow was frightened up from the weeds Billy found a nest of fur containing two tiny rabbits. But the nest was

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\* This is the third part of the third article by Professor Smith in his series, "How the Other Half Lives in the Open Country." The first and second parts appeared in the February, 1921, and May, 1921, issues of *The American Child*.



partly torn up and Billy knew that a tragedy had occurred there. After that he became the sworn enemy of all the crows. It mattered not how many worms they might devour; if they killed his young rabbits they would find no mercy at his hands. He tried to capture them in slat traps, but he might as well have trapped for shooting stars.

With the passing of the game months came the "wild sallet" season. When Billy ceased to supply the table with food Pinkie, Mabel, and some of the younger children began. With baskets, buckets, table knives and "sang hoe," Mabel in mittens but the others with bare hands, they covered the fields about the house and searched far and wide for wild greens. Nor was their searching in vain. There was wild mustard in great abundance, tongue grass, snake's tongue, young poke shoots, shawnee, wild lettuce, "mouse's ear," speckled dock, lady's slipper, little dock, elder leaves, wild "creeses," and other "sallet greens" growing everywhere. When the wild "sallet" became scarce Old Steve's turnip patch supplied his tenant's with greens, so the meals ceased to consist of fried fat meat, corn pone, buttermilk, and half-soured molasses. That's what was on the table when Billy failed to secure wild meat. But the greens supplied the kind of food that all their bodies were starving for.

At this season all the children showed the effects of under-feeding. They were eternally hungry, and the youngest were almost constantly complaining of "belly-ache." They ate the only food there was in the house but this did not satisfy. Their mother often said, "Well, you'll jes haf to be satisfied with what you've got," but this did not stop the gnawing hunger pains they felt so frequently. Words cannot satisfy the stomach of a hungry child. Poor Winnie thought that any food that would sustain life in an adult would also be suitable for a small child. She couldn't understand why some of the smaller children were always complaining and putting their hands on their abdomens. She gave castor oil and turpentine in abundance, but troubles did not cease. The fretful children "crammed they're selves till they wuz ready to bust," but still they complained of being hungry—and their mother had no food that would satisfy them.

There is no greater tragedy in human life than the hunger cry of a starving child that cannot be satisfied. Tens of thousands of

mothers hear such cries but do not have the means to soothe them. The scanty fare that is so often the daily portion of the poor does not contain the nourishment that a growing child demands. The food may sustain life but it does not promote normal, healthy growth. And this is fatal to the fullest development of the man. Beautiful, noble character can hardly grow in bodies wracked with hunger pains. There is little wonder to those who know the privations of the very poor that crimes are committed against personal purity, against law, society, against all that is choicest and most refined in human life. Hunger will drive either man or beast to desperation. Some of the preachers call this tendency to commit crimes "total depravity,"—a custom which is in itself little short of a crime against childhood. They thus shoulder upon Providence a condition brought about by man's negligence, or misfortune. It is a poor conception in religion that tries to saddle on the Creator a responsibility that belongs chiefly to human beings.

But by whatever name the process is called the fact remains that criminals do grow, that incompetents do develop, that sub-normal men and women do abound, and there is every reason for those who look from the level of the cabin door to believe that much of all this is due to malnutrition which often begins before birth and ends only with death. It is becoming recognized that the high death rate among the children of the poor may be traced directly to "deficiency foods." It is now well known to the intelligent medical world, and it is leaking out among the laymen, that diseases long thought by the pious poor—and still thought by them—to be visitations from Providence as special punishments are either caused directly by "deficiency foods" or are closely related to malnutrition. Even tuberculosis, the dreaded scourge of the rural poor, is so closely related to poor diet that it may almost be classed as a "deficiency food" disease.

No other gospel is at present half so important to the underfed thousands of the countryside as the gospel of adequate food correctly prepared and properly eaten. No other course in college or normal preparatory school can ever rank equally in importance with the courses that teach young women and young men how to provide sufficient nourishment for children. But how many millions of little ones will be sacrificed on the altars of our educational system before educators face about and plunge boldly into the battle for

saving child life rather than perpetuating certain conceptions picked up in a pedagogical laboratory instead of in a nursery?

But summertime came with its warm days and cotton-chopping, its berry-picking, flower-hunting, bird songs, fresh vegetables and outdoor joys. The older children were nearly always in the field or the berry patch, or out hunting for wild "sallet" or wash wood. The younger ones played and romped about the house.

With the warm days and outdoor joys came also certain relentless enemies of little children. Flies came by the thousands, all seemingly as hungry as the hound pup that roamed in and out about the house—Nig's uncongenial understudy. They swarmed over everything and everybody. There were no screens to keep them out but there was everything to keep them and invite them in. Mosquitoes came also and found their way into dark corners by day to come forth by night and prey upon the sleeping children.

Winnie could never understand where all the flies came from. She often sat with visiting neighbors and wondered. She was like tens of thousands of mothers who have never learned the source of the pest. The only protection she used was a paper fly-brush with a cane handle, or a leafy peachtree limb from which the spiders had been carefully shaken. These weapons were used to frighten them away from the food while the family was at the table—one of the children being delegated to wield the brush while the others ate—but at other times the hungry pests had right of way.

With the flies came sickness to the little ones. Little Nannie, the youngest save one, was stricken with summer complaint and became violently ill within a few hours. None of the simple remedies availed to bring relief. Catnip tea, sage tea, horehound tea, hot onion poultices on the feet, turpentine poultices on the chest, rubbing the chest and forehead with camphor all failed to have the desired effect. Winnie or one of the older girls was by her side all the time but did nothing to relieve the burning fever. Winnie had heard of someone who used cold baths, but that was too terrible for her to think of using with one of her babies. So little Nannie rolled and tossed, called for "dink," and suffered agony with consuming internal heat.

After two days of anxiety the doctor was called. Before he would agree to come Old Steve had to promise to "stand good" for



the pay. When he arrived he found a very dirty room, a badly worn-out mother, and a desperately sick child.

"Baby's purty sick. You'll have to be right kerful of her. Bathe her in cold water to keep down the fever so she can sleep, an' keep the doors open so she can have plenty of fresh air."

If he had instructed Winnie to take a butcher-knife and dismember her child he would have been obeyed just as readily. He left a few tablets with some liquid in a bottle, gave instructions for administering the medicine, mounted his horse and rode away. He requested that they let him know the condition of the child the next morning.

That night the negro woman, Old Angeline, came to "set up." As soon as she saw the little one she turned away and said, "Wy Miss Winnie, dat chile gwine die." The father and mother had feared this but neither had dared to speak their fears. The mere statement of the danger frightened the parents, Pinkie, and Mabel, and all gave way to tears. Old Angeline wept with them.

But the prophecy was true. All night long the little one sank gradually, and the next morning just at daybreak, while the mocking birds sang and the stars were fading away, the wee one's life faded away with them. There were loud lamentations and bitter tears from all except David and Billy. Nig and the pup not knowing what to make of all the disturbance whined and howled. This was interpreted by the family and Old Angeline as unmistakable evidence of the sorrow which the dogs felt at the baby's death, and it was told long afterwards to show how dearly the little one was loved.

While the family were all overwhelmed with grief, Old Angeline, ever faithful where there was need of the ministry of a faithful hand, prepared the body for burial.

O woeful, woeful pity it is that the only way a child in a million poor homes can ever find to cool its burning, withering fever is to die! Perhaps some day after millions of little lives have paid the penalty of neglect on the part of parents public nurses will be employed in every neighborhood to minister to the bodies and save the lives that the Father never intended should be laid down so early. Children are not born to die but to live—to live and grow into manhood and womanhood, to do their share of the world's work to bring other strong, healthy children into existence, and to enjoy their full share of the good things that life has to offer. They die because

the mass of humanity has not yet become wise enough and interested enough to take the steps that will make it possible for them to live.

A little while after sunup that morning David walked over to Jase Gulley's house, called him out to the fence and said, "Jase, want you to make a coffin for my little gal." And then the poor fellow gave way to his grief. He drew from his pocket an old soiled rag, sat down on a chopping block and shook with grief.

"Yeh, little Nannie 's gone. Smartest and peartest child I had. Looks like things jes go agin me, Jase. 'Pears like ever time I start a-gittin' along sumpum happens to knock the triggers out, an' everything clatters down. Looks like everything jes goes agin me."

"Well, I reckon the good Lord knows best, Dave. We'll jes haf to do as he sez."

"Yes, Jase, but it's purty hard sometimes."

After sitting for a while in silent grief David arose and started towards home, remarking as he walked away. "Fetch it over Jase, when it is done, an' fetch along yore wagon."

That afternoon a little procession drove away from David's house. It contained two farm wagons, a spring wagon, and an old buggy. It moved on to the graveyard "down on Flynt" where Old Monk and Millie's man and one of Old Thornton's boys had the grave ready. When the procession arrived the coffin was opened for all to have a last look at the face. There were new bursts of grief among the members of David's family, and the sympathetic neighbors shed tears with them, for the poor are ever ready to weep with those who weep. When the cries had somewhat subsided the body of little Nannie was lowered into the grave. This solemn duty done, the funeral party silently returned to their homes.

## IX

Pete Gulley hung about the place to get a word with Mabel whenever it was possible. Pete was a simpering kind of sprout, ignorant as a billy goat and awkward as a didapper on land. But Mabel did not discourage his attentions actively because she enjoyed the sport of "twining him about her finger." He was callous to all "slights" and "cold shoulders," and nothing short of blows



from a poker, or a skilletful of hot grease from the hand of his lady-love would have convinced him that his advances—always advances but never retreats—were not sweetly acceptable.

Pinkie gave Mabel little rest about the matter. Though Pinkie was as poor as poverty she was ever a roguish little scamp and had oceans of fun at the expense of Big Sis.

"Hi-dy, Mrs. Pete—I mean Miss Mabel—. Have old Trounce—Pete's hound—ketched airy other ground squirrel?"

Thus she spake one morning as Mabel appeared at the wash-tub, imitating the manner and speech of Pete who always tried to be exceedingly "proper" in Mabel's presence. She referred to a conversation she had overheard the day before (Sunday) between Pete and Mabel in which he recounted a tremendously exciting chase after a chipmunk, a contest in which old Trounce finally triumphed but was hard put to it in the conflict. One would have thought from the description that old Trounce had treed, scratched out and throttled a mountain lion or a grizzly bear single toothed.

"Aw you shet up about that, you silly goose," retorted Mabel.

"Well what you let him hang on so long for? Why don't you shake him in the wash fire like a spider?"

"Taint none of yore business what I do."

"Matildy said Pete was talkin' of rentin' a crap for next year. Must be sumpun up."

"Well, goose, I don't care if he rents a dozen craps."

"Old Trounce could shore ketch lots of ground squirrels on that many farms."

"Well, he looks like he needed a lot to eat—the old bone bag."

"If he has as hard a-time ketchin' um all as that'n' Pete told you about yestiddy he'll be all puttered out long 'fore he's thru."

"Pink, if you don't hush up I'll smack you."

"Now then, Miss Feisty, don't spill the buttermilk; you'll need it to wash off yore freckles next time Pete comes."

"I'll swan if I don't——"

"Whut chu chillun quoilin' 'bout?"

Neither had seen the approach of Old Angeline who was walking by with a basket full of greens and old clothes on her head and a poke of meal on her hip.

"You jes lak two ole ash-cats, always quoilin' an' spittin' but never gittin' no funder 'long."



Pinkie answered her, "I was jest braggin' on Mabel's feller an' tellin' her what a fine feller she has, an' she didn't like it."

Mabel remained silent and went on with soaping the clothes. Inwardly she was rejoicing at the interruption, for though she could spank Pinkie at any time when she could catch her—which was not often—she always found it impossible to squelch her. The little roguish imp always found a way to come back, and Mabel knew full well that when it came to a battle of wits she would sooner or later have to submit to defeat.

But Old Angeline's next statement didn't help Mabel out much.

"Whut feller you talkin' 'bout, Pinkie, dat flat-bellied Pete?"

"Yes," returned Pinkie in a loud explosion of laughter.

"My Lawdy, Miss Mabel, dat ting ain't got no mo' heft den a grubwurm. Ought-a be still suckin' 'is mammy. Would be, I bound you if dey're wuz not so many younguns. How's yo' ma an' de baby, Pinkie?"

But Pinkie couldn't answer. She was doubled up over the battling block in a spasm of laughter. Mabel was stewing inside.

"You chillun quit dat quoling now an' run 'long to wuk," said the old woman as she disappeared behind the bushes.

There was nothing in particular for Mabel to say, but in her heart she resolved to murder Pete Gulley—socially speaking—the very next time he appeared.

"Pete! Tum along here, little Pete; bless yo' heart, you little darlin'. Tum on, honey, to Pinkie, oo little ole sweet sing you."

It was Pinkie who spoke, and as she did so a piping gosling came stumbling and falling over sticks and rocks chattering away in its falsetto voice in answer to the endearing calls of its mistress. Up into Pinkie's arms it crept and nestled there while she poured forth gushes of silly nonsense and baby-talk, the gosling returning the caresses by much piping and nibbling at buttons and teeth and digging at every fly that appeared in reach. She had named it Pete in honor of Mabel's beau whom she declared the pinfeathered and falsetto-voiced creature resembled. There were certain points of resemblance between the fowl and the boy.

Mabel's opportunity to fling Pete came in a very unexpected way. It was as unexpected to others as it was to her, but it all turned out to the complete satisfaction of everybody. Andy Bently,

a young cattle trader who lived on a good farm some ten miles away, came to "look at" some of Old Steve's yearlings. He was handsome, a bit dashing, and well-to-do. Mabel and Pinkie were returning home across the pasture from a birthday party at the home of one of the neighbors. Andy and Old Steve were in the pasture near the path as the girls passed.

"Howdy, girls. How's the folks today," spoke Old Steve in his usual loud voice. "Hain't seen you all dressed up so on a long time. Whur 've you been?"

They told him.

"Come here; I want you both to meet this fine young man. Andy—Mr. Bently—shake hands with Miss Mabel Abbott and Miss Pinkie Abbott. Miss Mabel's the purtiest and smartest girl anywhere around, and Pinkie 's goin' to beat her at both, I b'lieve, when she grows up."

The girls were decidedly confused, Mabel especially, and Andy was not wholly at ease. Ordinarily he was complete master of himself when young ladies were about, but Mabel's beautiful face and handsome figure had completely captured him. He walked with her across the pasture chatting pleasantly, and she proved to be as interesting in her talk as she was in appearance.

"Pretty as a peach," remarked Andy as he turned from the fence where he left the girls. "Dast my time if I ain't goin' to see her agin before I leave these woods."

"Mighty purty girl. Smart as you please, too. Workin'est pair you ever laid eyes on," said Old Steve. "Make a man a mighty good wife. Best renter I got on my place, Dave is. Them girls are pore but you don't find none better no difference whur you go."

As a result of this accidental meeting Andy stayed over night with Old Steve, and next morning the two rode over to David's house to talk about the outlook for a good cotton crop. Old Steve called Mabel out to the fence where Andy stood, and then rode on to the shaving-horse where David was sitting drawing shingles to cover a house on his landlord's farm. It took them a long time to talk about the shingles and the cotton crop, and during that time Mabel and Andy had become pretty well acquainted. The upshot of the conversation was an understanding that Andy should drive from home the next Sunday morning in a buggy and take Mabel to church

at Hickory Spring and return to Old Steve's for dinner. Old Steve was in on this deal and boasted about it afterwards, but he declared to David one day, "Never dreamt of sich a plan when I introduced Mabel to Andy in the cow pasture."

For the rest of that week Mabel lived in dreams. The idea of riding to church in a real buggy with a fine fellow like Andy Bently kept her all in a whirl. She lay awake at night thinking about it. She had never ridden in any vehicle except a farm wagon and had never had a better seat than a straight-backed chair. But the buggy would have real cushions and comfortable springs, and then she imagined that the other girls would envy her because Andy would sit beside her. She spent much time remaking her best dress and "fixing up" for Sunday.

Pinkie was never a more persistent little rogue than she was that week. She "kept Mabel in hot water" from dawn till dark. Mabel threatened to brain her with the poker, to "bust her open," and do other terrible things to her, but these threats had little effect. She persisited in "slippin' in" with Pete gosling in her arms and pouring out a lot of foolish sympathy on the downy pet, pretending all the while that she was speaking to Pete Gully and comforting him.

Sunday morning came, and with it came Andy Bently in a bright new buggy drawn by a fine, sleek, black horse, tall and stately and full of meetle. Mabel had been ready for an hour. Pinkie had given her no peace since four o'clock, but when that fine outfit appeared, even the little tormentor herself was somewhat awed into silence. Andy was dressed in a simple, neat suit and looked every inch a farmer prince. He gallantly assisted Mabel into the seat and the two drove away. Mabel glanced back only once, but she saw the door, the window and the open hall full of heads, and Pinkie standing in the yard with Pete gosling in her arms patting his head and apparently weeping through sympathy.

A little before sunset the buggy was seen approaching slowly with the two occupants in earnest conversation. They talked for a short time in undertones after reaching the path leading to the house. By and by Andy assisted Mabel to alight and drove away, the big black horse moving off in his most stately manner. Mabel came towards the house, her face radiant with the excitement of the day. As she stepped upon the porch Pinkie appeared wiping



her eyes on her skirt. Mabel merely made a face at her and passed into the house. Pinkie sat down and pretended to weep aloud.

Pete Gully had really called that morning shortly after the buggy disappeared, and Pinkie had teased him almost to desperation before telling him where Mabel was. When he heard the news he almost collapsed. He found it impossible to relate to Pinkie an exciting rabbit chase which he had expected to tell to Mabel,—a chase in which old Trounce “mighty nigh ketched ’im but din’t quite.” After remaining for a short time he returned home to mope and nurse his grief. He came again in mid-afternoon presumably to talk to Billy about a fishing trip, but in reality to learn whether Mabel had returned. When no Mabel appeared his anxiety and grief were turned almost to madness. Pinkie tried to entertain him, but with little success.

On Wednesday afternoon everybody had the surprise of their lives—everyone but Mabel. Andy Bently and the big black appeared shortly after noon for a buggy ride. Mabel dressed quickly and went out to the road. Pinkie was too much surprised to think of Pete gosling. As the buggy moved away Andy took from his pocket a small package and threw it towards her. When she had picked it up and opened it she discovered that it was chewing gum. This was promptly shared with the rest of the family and went a long way inwards making a hero of Andy Bently in the eyes of the children.

It was near sunset when the two joy-riders returned. David was still working at the shaving-horse. He almost fainted when Andy called out, “Well, Mr. Abbott, Mabel’s going home with me tonight; she’s my wife now.”

“Well, I’ll be dadburned,” said David laying down his drawing knife, ‘you folks air in a hurry shore enough.”

He tried to look severe, but inwardly he was rejoicing.

“Looks like the lasses done spilled now. I guess there’s nothin’ else to do but sop up what’s left, if you can.

Pinkie had overheard this conversation and flew like wind into the house.

“Mammy, pon my honor if they ain’t married!”

“Married! Well the Lord bless my time. Whur air they?”

“Right out there talkin’ to pappy. An’ he says she’s goin’ home with him tonight.”

"Well if that don't beat me. She ort a-come in an' get her things."

In another moment Andy and Mabel were seen approaching the door. Andy was expecting a little scene and was prepared to stand by his wife and defend her conduct. He spoke first:

"Mrs. Abbott, I want to introduce my wife Mrs. Mabel Bently." And he did it in such gallant fashion that he completely disarmed Winnie who had expected to scold them both. She tried to frown but found it too difficult and desisted. She was in reality so glad that she could have embraced them both if her sense of motherly dignity had not kept her in her chair.

"Well, it looks like you all might a-told a-body."

"But it was such a surprise to us, Mrs. Abbott," added Andy, "that we scarcely had time to think about it ourselves." And he proceeded to relate in detail how it all happened, how he had fallen in love with Mabel as soon as he saw her, how he stayed over night at Old Steve's on purpose to see her next morning, how they agreed Sunday on way from church to marry, how they had driven over to "Squire Wells'" to "have the knot tied," and he did it all in such fine fashion that he completely won the mother and the children. Even David came up with his drawing-knife in his hand laughing. Then Andy distributed chewing gum to the whole family and soon had everyone smiling in earnest.

"Well, Mabel, come in an' git yore things," said her mother.

Mabel and Pinkie worked together while Andy entertained the rest of the family. Pinkie was so taken off her feet that for once she didn't have much to say.

"Thought you'd act smart, didn't you, Sis?"

"Well, little miss, if you hadn't acted so feisty I might a-told you about it."

"Whut chu reckon Pete 'll think?"

Mabel was expecting an innocent inquiry like this and was prepared to answer it.

"Oh, tell Pete Gully to buss my foot."

"He'd a-been glad to do even that much if you'd a-let him."

This brought no reply. Pinkie saw that Mabel had "put one over on her," and she couldn't assemble her wits as she usually did, so she kept quiet.

The things were soon collected and rolled in paper. As Mabel



and Andy started away they looked past the corner of the house and saw Pinkie with Pete gosling in her arms and her handkerchief to her face apparently weeping as if her heart would break. A loud laugh rang out from the buggy as it disappeared behind the bushes. Pinkie had her inning after all.

That night David and his family could scarcely sleep. Winnie lay awake much of the time because of surprise and excitement, sorrow at losing Mabel from the home, and joy over her good fortune. Pinkie fondled a ring which Andy had given to her till midnight and wondered why she hadn't "caught on to the racket." It was all perfectly clear to her now, but she chided herself for being so stupid.

But at Andy's home on that first evening there was turmoil of a very different kind lasting far into the night. After he arrived with his bride a sumptuous supper was spread by his mother and two sisters. Only one cousin, a charming girl of eighteen, was invited. Andy was a level-headed fellow and did not want to usher Mabel at once into a crowd of his curious friends. Some of them protested against his intentions to wed. One young man, a dashing chap, remarked, "Andy, what the devil you want to marry a girl that's got nothing for? Why don't you get somebody that has some standing?"

To this Andy coolly replied, "Say, old man, who's doing the marrying this time? Haven't you got a brother who married a girl with standing?" And the look and pause completely silenced the objector. The story of that brother's marriage was rarely discussed in the family.

But the work hands and neighbor boys and girls were not to be left without a part in the celebration. Late in the evening after supper was over and the little party was enjoying a season of music—for Andy and his sisters and cousin were musicians—a terrific noise suddenly broke loose just outside the house which was so loud that music and words were drowned instantly. Every kind of noise-making instrument which could be found or invented was brought into play. Tin pans, tin buckets, clevises, iron bars, clap boards, zinc tubs, sheep bells, cow bells, hand bells, one big dinner bell, tin horns, one bugle, a trombone, rubber "squallers," dinner horns, hunting horns, gourd handle horns, wash boilers, tin roofing, a turkey call, a duck call, pieces of chain, wire flails to pound tubs



with, cartridge hull whistles, a referee's whistle, toy pistols and paper caps, a "mute bull," an old circular saw suspended from a pole carried by two negroes and pounded with a heavy shop hammer by a third negro; other things were rung, rattled, clapped, blown, clattered in such a slam-bang of pandemonium, and all this was accompanied by such howls, yells, whistling, shrieks, and other explosive demonstration that it seemed as if a whole legion of demons armed with all the noise-making ordnance of Pluto himself had been let loose from the nether world upon Andy Bently's lawn. Like Indian braves in a war dance the band marched single file around the house, leaping, dancing, "cutting shisties" until Andy walked to the door and hailed them.

"Hey there, what do you think you are trying to do?"

This was merely a signal for another tornado of "hell-raisin'" as one negro afterwards described it.

Andy knew what this meant for he himself had been ringleader in more than one shivaree in the past. So he disappeared into the house but returned in a moment with a huge hamper basket full of choice red apples. These he took into the yard and poured on the grass in a long row after the manner of feeding swine. Another wild scene followed as Andy stepped back on the porch where all the ladies of the house stood looking on and laughing. Men and boys, white and black, dived in one huge living, wriggling mass for the apples. There were screams, shouts, cries, tumbling, racing, pushing, tripping, and more than one stiff fight between boys in the mad battle for the toothsome fruit.

Before this tornado had subsided Andy and a negro man had disappeared, only to return soon with a big lard can filled with lemonade. Cups were brought, and as the merry makers filed past each one was filled with the cool, delicious drink.

"Plenty more where this come from," said Andy as he filled cups till he was tired.

After the white folks came the negroes who snapped their lips and spit on their hands in mock anticipation of a heavy piece of work at the drinking can. When all were filled with apples, lemonade, and cookies the merry crowd dispersed leaving the supper party in peace. As they withdrew the clanging of tubs, dishpans, and cowbells, and blasts from horns could be heard growing less and less distinct, until they died away in the silence of the night.

## X

It required many days for Pinkie to grow accustomed to Mabel's absence. She missed some one to tease as much as she missed the intimate companionship of her sister which had long been one of her greatest joys. Her duties about the house were heavier, and her long hours in the fields were much more arduous. Winnie noticed a great change in her daughter but was not resourceful enough even partially to fill up the void in Pinkie's life. Sh was no longer a boon companion for her children. They were growing but she was not.

Fewer tragedies in a mother's life are more heart-rending than the realization that she can no longer be interesting to her daughters, can no longer be their companion. Thousands never guess the cause of this estrangement, never suspect that it is because they themselves stop growing. Failing to see the real cause, many of the very poor believe that it is just because their daughters drift away for no particular reason. They grow impatient and quarrelsome, accuse their daughters of being too proud to pay much attention to their mothers, and in so doing they widen the breach which when once created is rarely bridged. This is the cause of a great deal of unhappiness among the daughters of the poor. It helps to explain why thousands of country girls marry very young—just a matter of companionship.

Blessed are the children to be of the young woman who learns while still unmarried the things that will make her a good companion to her growing daughters from babyhood to maturity. And blessed will she be in their love and appreciation. The most essential thing she rarely gets in her college course. She learns some mathematics, a bit of history, a smattering of philosophy, something about science, may waste years on classical language, receives a diploma and is called educated, but unless she becomes acquainted with the great story lore of the ages she can never be an ideal mother. Unless she becomes familiar with the things in legend and history, poetry and song that have a perennial interest for children, unless she becomes deeply interested with the great out-of-doors and familiar with many of nature's secrets she will run the risk of losing the intimate companionship of her daughters and may suffer all the pangs that Winnie felt when she saw her daughters slipping away from her.



It was a hard summer for Pinkie. There was loneliness in her life, a growing impatience in her mother, and much sickness among the children. Certain symptoms appeared in some of the little ones that were quite common among the children of that neighborhood. Sores appeared on their feet and legs which were called "toe-itch" or "dew-poison." Winnie anointed these with "taller" and powdered alum but rarely succeeded in curing one up. The youngest child, except the baby, developed what Old Angeline and other women called "pot-belly." A number of children were thus affected, and their mothers often twitted them about it. One woman said, "Tain't a-tall nice for anybody to have a pot-gutted youngun in the family." Many looked upon it as a sort of near-disgrace. Whenever a mother wanted to "dry up" a whimpering "brat" she frequently made reference to this deformity, assuming that it was in some way the child's fault.

"Come on here an' dry up, you little snotty-nosed, pot-gutted wretch you, before I beat you good!"

Such was the manner in which a neighbor addressed her baby one day in Pinkie's presence, and her heart went out to the little one.

Pinkie knew that "sumpun was wrong with the little feller." She tried to soothe it but it would not be comforted. Various play-things were offered, a ride on her back was tried, other favorite devices were resorted to, but with little result. The mother finally took it on her knee and "jigged it" so violently that it forgot its pain and became concerned chiefly with its punishment as its mother tried to "nuss" it to sleep. After a while it did go into a nervous, jerky, groaning kind of sleep and was put on the bed.

We know not how many baby lives must be sacrificed on the altars of ignorance before proper medical treatment will be substituted for "smacking and jigging," and parents will be willing to pay honest money for public health nurses instead of for little coffins. If children could only make their wants and needs known through the pulpit and the press, what a mighty revolt against some of our long-cherished customs there would be!

As the warm days passed Pinkie began to think more. She wondered whether she must always be just a "cotton chopper," just a "little scalawag" poorly dressed and poorly fed, who would some time be compelled to marry some neighborhood boy with no



better chance than she had. Or would some well-to-do farmer "pick her up" as Andy had "picked up" Mabel? She longed for a companionship which she didn't find in her quarrelsome, "snuff-dippin'" mother. She loved her mother but she didn't find the sympathies, the appreciation and understanding in her that her young, growing nature craved. She often turned to Billy, but he was interested more in Sunday rambles, in other boys and dogs, in swimming, and in "boy-doin's" in general than he was in his lonesome sister. Of course he would have murdered any man who might harm her, but that was not the particular kind of interest she was looking for. When they were younger they were boon companions but now they were drifting apart.

Pinkie wanted to get out of the life she was leading. She declared that she would not marry a man who would make her live in a house like her home and compel her to lead the kind of life her mother had led. On that matter she had some rather stong convictions. Sometimes she mused aloud:

"I'll bound I have things different in my home some day. I get sick of cryin', whimperin' babies; they've just got sumpun the matter with um. Mammy's teas an' Ole Granny Gulley's liniments don't seem to do a bit of good. I think that half they do for them babies is all foolishness. There's no sense in all this sheep tea and makin' um drink water from an ole shoe, an' wearin' lead bullets aroun' the neck. They're pot-bellied because they're sick. I believe. I jest bound if ever have any babies in my home I don't let um get all cryey like these are."

She could read a little but there was nothing in the house to read except the Bible, the almanac, and an old song book. David was like tens of thousands of other poor farmers who know nothing of the companionship of a library. There was not even a book of Bible stories for the children—a volume that many conscientious parents object to because it is "man-made Bible." He could spell out simple sentences—so could Winnie—but that was all.

The fact that both her father and mother were illiterate was a sore burden to her. She had been in Mabel's home and had seen books and magazines. She had seen the piano, the violin, the cornet, the stacks of music; had heard Andy and his mother and sisters play, and had come away with a new sorrow and a new resolve. Some day she, too, would be a good musician. She had heard peo-

ple play the banjo and the fiddle, and she knew a few old jiggy tunes, but here at Mabel's house were other instruments and another kind of music. These new resolves somehow thrilled her and for a time took her thoughts from chopping and picking cotton, scrubbing dirty clothes and sweeping a "littered-up" front yard. She could not see any way to light her along a different path towards her goal, but she was young and had hope and faith.

This simple faith in the yearning heart of youth is one of the divine attributes of young souls. It is the spiritual generator which sets in motion the forces that impel ambitious and aspiring youths to attempt things impossible for those who have not the faith. How often does it shine forth from eyes and radiant cheeks and poise of head as the youth stands silent on a mountain peak of thought in moments when the Great Tongue is speaking in a still small voice to listening ears. But how often are the aspirations created by the still small voice in the hearts of the poor quenched by poverty as flames are quenched by water? How often are the forces that impel the noblest endeavor throttled by mental poverty and gnawing hunger pains? Who has not seen the tragedy, the look of hopeless despair in some youth who once stood silent for a little season on one of these mountain peaks and who for lack of opportunity descended again into the valley of shadows? In this valley dwell mental and physical hunger, pain and companionless homes and drudgery. Once fallen from the peak, it is almost impossible to rise again.

Pinkie was determined to find a way. She was still young in years but constant toil, "hard knocks," an uninviting environment and heavy responsibilities had matured her much beyond her years. She could think seriously of serious matters. There was no one, however, to whom she could speak of her new resolve. Billy was more interested in hickory bark whips and chipmunks than in an education. Her father was too busy "puttering about the fields" and complaining of "hurtin's in his back" to listen to the story of her ambitions. It would do no good to talk things over with her mother; she would merely groan, change her snuff-brush to the other side of her mouth and tell her daughter to "go long an' do them dishes." She at length decided to mention her resolve to Old Angeline. She did so and received some very sincere and motherly advice.



"Law me, honey, dar ain't no usen for an ole black nigger lak me to try to tell folks what dey orter do. Ise been roun' heah all dese yeahs an' looks lak I haint never done nuffin but wuk in de garden, scrub clothes, an' have babies. Hit's des been wuk an' scrub an' have babies an' nuss babies, pick up chips, wash hippin's an' drive de chickens outen de kitchen. Nigga woman cain't never be nobody 'pears lak. Got to wuk in de fiel' babies or no babies, cain't git outen de house widout bein' insulted by a white man.

"Babies cryin' all de time for bread an' nuffin but bread to feed um on. Chillun git sick an' caint have no doctor. Nuffin to do but to let de Lawd save um or take um whichever He want to, an' lots of times He take um.

"But youse white folks, an' you can be somebody. Folk'll let you come in at de front do' an' set in de parlor. You can go to de white folk's school an' eat at de white folks' table; but nigga's got to be a niggah. Try to hol' deyre head up, somebody tell um dey gittin' it too high. Nuffin to do but scrub flo's, tote out de slop and clean up atter de chillun.

"You go long, I tell you, an' be somebody. Nevah min' whut yo' ma says. She tell you to wash dishes an' hang out hippin's all yo' life. Go 'long an' be somebody. An' don't you marry none of dese little tadpole runts dat 'll make you do nuffin but scrub clothes an' nuss babies all yo' lifetime. You white folks; you can be a lady, but Ole Angeline got to be a nigga 'long as she live, an' dat aint gwine be long. Jes nigger it to day an' nigger it tomorrow an' nigger it evah day till you hauled off to de graveyard.

"Mine what I tell you now; go 'long an' be somebody. How's yo' ma an' de baby dis mawnin'?"

With this encouragement which was obtained from a source where few would go to obtain it, Pinkie resolved anew as she walked home to work and have faith and wait.

The opportunity she longed for came sooner than she expected. When the cotton and corn were all harvested and all the bills were paid—little money being left as usual—Andy asked David to move on his place where there was a good house and barn, and where he wouldn't have to sign up the mortgage note every year. Immediately after Christmas the family moved. Old neighbors were exchanged for new ones, a wretched house was exchanged for a good one. Billy and Nig were in a paradise of coons, 'possums, muskrats, and skunks.



The whole environment was different. After they became settled David walked more erect than he had for years. Winnie quarreled and scolded less at the children.

Pinkie's heart leaped for joy one day when Andy suggested that she go away that winter and spring to school. She agreed at once, her parents agreed after much persuasion, and preparations were made for her going. Dresses were purchased and made and other necessary articles were secured.

A few days before she left home she answered a knock at the back door one morning and was surprised and overjoyed at seeing Old Angeline with her head wrapt in a shawl standing there with one of Millie's boys dressed in rags beside her.

"Come right in, Angeline. Mammy, here's Aunt Angeline come to see us."

"No'm I aint got time, honey. I jes come down to tell you goodbye, an' tell you don't forgit to make a fine lady lak I tell you. How's yo' ma an' de baby?"

Upon being assured that they were both well the two visitors turned to walk back over the eleven miles of road to "nigger it" for the rest of their days.

A few days after this Pinkie took her new trunk, her suit case and her umbrella, all of which Andy had bought for her, and set out for school to begin the happy work of making her dreams come true.

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The most vital thing in education and the one which we have neglected longest is to teach the weak how they may become strong and the strong how they may keep so. Every child has a right to grow up with a healthy body unless he has some physical handicap which could not be prevented or cannot be removed. A child under-nourished is a child in danger,—a fit subject for the development of tuberculosis or other chronic diseases.—*L. Emmett Holt, M.D.*

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**Child Labor Day—don't forget it!** Its widespread observance is up to the members of the National Child Labor Committee. Write to the home office for suggestions. We'll help you make the occasion a big success for the children of your community.

Sunday, January 29, for churches (January 28, for synagogues), January 30, for schools, colleges and clubs.

## CHILD LABOR IN AGRICULTURE

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GERTRUDE H. FOLKS

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When is child labor not child labor? Every state in the Union answers: When it takes place on a farm. In 17 states agriculture is specifically exempted from the provisions of the child labor law regulating both the age at which children may work and the number of hours during which they may work. In the other states a definite exemption is not stated, but agriculture is omitted from the list of occupations affected by the child labor law.

There are two explanations for this tendency which is so universal: first, it has long been thought that employment in agricultural work is not injurious to children; second, it has been taken for granted that it would be impossible to regulate child labor in agriculture, that legislation on this subject could not be enforced and that it was better not to have any law, than to have one openly violated.

Recent studies by the National Child Labor Committee, the Children's Bureau and other social and educational organizations reveal conditions which disprove the first argument and which make it imperative to meet the second. These studies show that rural child labor does exist; that its effects upon children are injurious to health and education; that it is not confined to any particular locality nor to any particular crop, but is as widespread as agriculture itself.

J. Madison Gathany during the summer of 1920 made a study of farm conditions in the North Atlantic States. In his report, published in *The Outlook* in September-October, 1920, he emphasizes the necessity for eliminating rural child labor: "Lawmakers are not, generally speaking, as much interested in remedial legislation in the cause of agriculture as in that of industry and commerce. We are sacrificing agriculture for the sake of industry, as England did, for which England is now sitting in sackcloth and ashes. The curse of child labor, which has been driven out of our factories, still persists on our farms."



As recently as this fall, the Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children reported that boys and girls from ten years of age upwards were being employed in the tobacco fields of the Connecticut Valley under conditions which were injurious. They were employed for from 9½ to 10 hours a day and were earning from \$1.50 to \$3.00. The boys work in the fields under canvas; their task is to pick the tobacco leaves from the stem and lay them on the ground, from which place they are brought to the sheds. In the sheds the girls string the leaves on laths about four feet in length. This process consists of taking a needle and a piece of twine and piercing the leaves near the stem. When about forty leaves are pierced, the twine is fastened, leaving the leaves in a suspended position. The report states: "It is extremely hot under the canvas and scarcely seems a healthy occupation for young children." "All of the girls and women work standing for the full 9½ hours." The report of the Industrial Inspector concludes: "I know that the sight of so many children working in the fields during the heat is repugnant to folks who are interested in preventing the exploitation of child labor, but the work in which they are engaged is on a farm or in sheds in connection with a farm and as such is not a violation of the existing statutes governing child labor."

In this connection, it is interesting to note that as early as 1906 at a convention of tobacco growers in Kentucky the following resolution was passed:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States and the legislatures of nearly all of our states have passed laws regulating child labor in factories and mines and prescribing the age of a child or person when he or she may be lawfully employed in mines or factories, and,

WHEREAS, Various states and municipalities have laws making it obligatory that children under a certain age must attend school for certain prescribed months of a year, and such laws are enforced in cities, and,

WHEREAS, There is no law governing child labor on the farms, and,

WHEREAS, Where the law requiring children to attend school for prescribed periods in the country exists, it is rarely enforced. Therefore,

*Be It Resolved*, That this convention shall and now does petition the publisher of our official paper, viz., *Up-To-Date Farming*, and the president of the American Society of Equity to use his influence



and that of the paper and the power of our society to the end that conditions may be brought about that child labor in the tobacco patches may not be necessary, and to demand that laws be passed forbidding it. Also that compulsory education be carried out in rural districts as in cities.

If progressive tobacco growers recognize the evil of child labor and the possibility of eliminating it, should they not be given the encouragement of social organizations whose primary function is child protection?

An investigator of the National Child Labor Committee went through the agricultural section of Ohio in the summer of 1917. Although he found comparatively few children employed in general agriculture and truck-gardening, their employment was possible, and where found they were working for about ten hours a day and were paid on the average \$1.00 a day. The farmers stated that they preferred adult labor, but were unable to get it, but at the same time they had opposed strongly at the previous legislature, legislation seeking to establish an eight-hour day for children in agriculture. Conditions in the onion fields of this state were less favorable—a larger number of children being employed and at a lower age, the average being about eleven years.

An investigator sent out to the onion and celery farms by the Cleveland, Ohio, *Press*, reported that many boys and girls between eight and fourteen years of age were working ten hours a day under a speeding-up system. The investigator stated that onion weeding necessitated crawling on hands and knees through mucky soil and that children were completely exhausted by the work. He concludes, "Whether it's lawful or not, I can't help but feel that child labor such as I saw is wrong."

Similar conditions exist on the Pacific Coast where children are employed in picking fruit, cotton and asparagus, under poor living conditions, for excessive hours, at low wages and in violation of the school attendance law. In May, 1921, a representative of the Sacramento *Star* in the company of a deputy labor commissioner investigated the situation and reported as follows:

Children, not yet in their teens, work in California asparagus fields. Some are only 9 or 10 years old.

They work from 10 to 12 hours a day.

Their bosses often are Chinese or Hindus.

They live in miserable shanties, many crowded into a room.

Their pay is low. They make asparagus growing profitable.

There you have summarized what Harry Gorman, deputy labor commissioner, and I found in a three-day trip into the rich delta the region of the lower Sacramento and San Joaquin Rivers.

These are but a few instances of a situation that reaches from New England to the Pacific Coast, and everywhere is marked by over-worked, under-educated children. Intentionally these examples have been selected from sources other than the National Child Labor Committee, for the reports of the investigations of this organization have already appeared in this magazine. They have been carried on in cotton fields, tobacco fields, beet fields, onion fields, cranberry bogs, berry patches, truck gardens, fruit orchards, etc., in all sections of the country—specifically in the New England states and in Alabama, California, Colorado, Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Michigan, New Jersey, North Carolina, Ohio, Oklahoma, Tennessee, Texas, West Virginia and Wisconsin. Practically everywhere the same conditions were found—children are engaged in farm work for excessive hours, in some cases to the detriment of their health, in most cases to the detriment of their education.

There is no doubt but that the evil is great, that it is becoming known and that public sentiment is being aroused. But what is the way out? Is there no way in which rural child labor can be regulated effectively?

It is necessary to distinguish between three types of farmwork in which children are engaged: (1) that which children perform for their parents on the home farm, (2) that which children perform for wages, *i.e.*, those who are "hired out," (3) that which children perform with their parents, but under contract, as for instance, in the beet fields and the asparagus fields. No blanket rules for the regulation of rural child labor can be laid down, for each of these three types of work must be approached from a different angle.

It is obviously out of the question to attempt to forbid parents to allow their children to work at home. Such legislation would be unwise as well as impossible of enforcement. The parents' right to permit or require his child to work at home cannot be challenged unless the hours are so excessive and the work so injurious that the parents can be prosecuted on the charge of neglect—and in this case the injury has already been done. These children can be reached only indirectly: (1) through adequate compulsory attend-



ance laws rigidly enforced, (2) through the education of the parents to realize that schooling, recreation and health protection are essential to a child's development and that excessive farm work interferes with these. Such activities as those of the Extension Department of the State Universities, the County Agricultural and Home Demonstration Agents, and the boys' and girls' agricultural and canning clubs are doing much to give parents this new viewpoint.

On the other hand the child who is employed for wages can be protected through direct legislation. Such children are engaged in a "gainful occupation" and should be subject to the same regulations that apply to children in other gainful occupations. These would, of course, vary in different states, but the general effect would be to prohibit such work on the part of children under 14 years and to allow children between 14 and 16 to work only with a work permit granted under the conditions specified by law for other occupations and to work for only eight hours a day. Such legislation is needed to prevent exploitation of child workers. Moreover, it is practicable and can be enforced, for the work permit serves as a check.

The third type of agricultural labor is the most difficult to handle. It is prevalent among migratory workers, although not confined to this class. The child is working with his parents but not for them; he is employed for profit and yet enters into no direct contract with his employer. He is employed as a member of a family rather than as an individual.

Various arrangements are made in different industries. In describing the method by which children are secured to work in the asparagus fields, for instance, the *Sacramento Star* states:

The grower notifies an Oakland or San Francisco agency that he desires a certain number of cutters. The agent goes to the poorer sections of the cities, usually picking districts filled with Mexican, Italian or Portuguese families.

The agent ascertains that a certain family has, for instance, six children old enough to work. He contracts with their father for eight asparagus cutters—the children and their parents. No mention is made in the contract of the fact that six of the cutters are children.

In the beet industry the method is different. Families are imported in the spring, apportioned a tract of land, the acreage



depending upon the number of workers, and are paid a specified amount per acre for the cultivation and harvesting of the crop. This keeps them occupied until November when they return to their homes. There are many variations in the agreements in the different agricultural industries, ranging from that of the tenant family who keeps half the crop, to that of the day laborer's family who go out each day during the picking season. The line between the children of these families and those who are "hired out" is not sharp. It would be unwise, however, to class all of these children as employed in gainful occupations and thereby forbid them to work under 14 years. In many cases the family lives, temporarily at least, in a shack on the beet, asparagus, or tobacco fields—as the case may be; schools are not always in session (sometimes because it is summer vacation; sometimes because a vacation has been declared to enable the children to work); no recreational facilities are provided; there is little uncultivated land around; literally, a child who was not working would have nothing to do and would be miserable.

One writer suggests that families with children should not be employed in such work. Although this may be desirable, it is not the kind of thing which can be made compulsory. On the other hand, exploitation of children should not be tolerated (as it is at present) merely because their parents are with them and allow it. It is essential to regulate the hours of work, the conditions of work, and the living conditions of such children. This probably can be done best by making the employer responsible for the observance of certain standards for the children of families hired by him under contract. The children should be permitted to work for only a limited number of hours a day (depending on their age and physical condition) and the employer should be held responsible for the observance and enforcement of this regulation; he should be required to provide living quarters for them which should be subject to the approval of the state department enforcing the child labor act. In no case should it be permitted to employ children of compulsory school attendance age during school hours. If these restrictions induce employers to refuse to employ families with children, instead of giving preference to them, so much the better! It is the only legitimate way to accomplish that end.

Legislation to protect children in agriculture will necessarily

meet opposition just as legislation to protect children in industry was met with opposition. But carrying the analogy a step further, just as some of the largest cotton mills—the old fortress of child labor—now refuse to employ children, or employ them only under the most favorable conditions and in full compliance with the law, so the large agriculturists will undoubtedly see the benefit of such legislation after it has been tried out for a number of years. Opposition to legislation does not mean that it is unwise or unnecessary—merely that it is not desired by the opposing interests. The welfare of the child, however, must be the primary consideration and even though cumbersome and difficult of enforcement, should not legislation be tried as one method of protecting our rural children? Already we are calling upon legislation to provide them suitable educational and recreational facilities—why not use it also to prevent them from being exploited by labor? The arguments which are brought against industrial child labor and with which the readers of *The American Child* are familiar, are no less applicable to the rural child. Can we longer ignore this evil?

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Your true democracy must have leaders; and the better the leaders, the better the democracy. These leaders must be men of the most gracious and sincere manners, the most cultivated imagination, the finest self-sacrifice, the highest ideals. Wherever we need leaders, we need just such men. And such men do not just grow. They must be developed and inspired somewhere.—*E. W. Parmalee.*

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The money which we put into education is an investment in the country's greatest asset. There are those who will send their money a thousand miles to promote a gold mine which they have never seen. There is precious metal close at hand which will pay better dividends. It cannot depreciate; it cannot fail. It is limited only by the conditions which we, its trustees, place upon it. If we fail to develop it, then we shall be untrue to our trust. We shall have allowed a great national resource to languish.—*Connecticut Board of Education Bulletin, February, 1921.*

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January 30, for schools, colleges and clubs.

# THE STATUS OF RURAL EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

## A MEMORANDUM

MABEL CARNEY

### I. GENERAL STATISTICS—POPULATION.

1. Total population living on farms in the United States.....	38,000,000
2. Total number of adult men engaged in farming.....	8,000,000
3. Population living in villages (centers of less than 2,500).....	11,000,000
4. Number of children in one and two-teacher rural and village schools (this is over one-third of the total); public school enrollment of the United States.....	8,000,000
5. Number of one- and two-room rural school buildings in the United States.....	200,000
6. Total number of rural teachers—just half of the teaching population of the nation.....	300,000
7. Total number of rural school supervisors and county superintendents.....	3,087
8. Negro phase of the rural problem (there are 12 million negroes in the United States, 85 per cent of whom live on the land, thus making the negro problem very largely a question of rural welfare). Number of negro children of school age.....	2,000,000

### II. EXPENDITURE FOR RURAL EDUCATION.

For the United States in 1912:

1. Expenditure per capita per city school child....	\$40.00
2. Expenditure per capita per rural school child....	24.00



In Missouri in 1917:

3. Annual expenditure per city school child.....	\$52.00
4. Annual expenditure per rural school child.....	20.00
5. Investment in school property per child (urban)..	123.00
6. Investment in school property per child (rural)..	25.00
7. Tax rate per hundred dollars (urban).....	1.24
8. Tax rate per hundred dollars (rural).....	.62
9. Average annual salary for urban teachers.....	800.00
10. Average annual salary for rural teachers.....	356.00

In North Carolina:

11. Average annual expenditure per urban child....	16.00
12. Average annual expenditure per rural child....	7.00

III. SCHOOL TERM AND ATTENDANCE.

1. The average urban school term in the United States is.....184 days
2. The average rural school term is.....137 “  
(This involves a loss of 46 days or two school months a year for rural children, making a total of 16 months or two whole years during the elementary course. In other words, city children have eight years of elementary schooling while the country children with poorer teachers and less equipment receive but six years.)

Attendance:

1. Average daily attendance in city schools is approximately..... 80 per cent
2. Average daily attendance in rural schools is.. 65 “ “
3. The Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor estimates that two million country children are engaged in farm labor to their injury. The only remedy for this condition is *compulsory school attendance*.
4. All states now have compulsory school attendance laws, but in ten states the legal term is less than five months and fourteen states excuse children for trifling causes. Practically no state enforces the proper attendance of rural school children.

*Rural Illiteracy:*

Because of the poor attendance and inferiority of schools in rural districts, illiteracy is *twice* as great in rural districts as in urban territory, and three times as great among children of native-born parents as among children of foreign-born parents.

## IV. HIGH SCHOOL OPPORTUNITY FOR COUNTRY CHILDREN.

No adequate investigation of this situation has been made yet but a partial study of the Bureau of Education in 1918 indicates that:

1. The per cent of all urban pupils completing the high school is..... 29 per cent
2. The per cent of all rural pupils completing the high school is but..... 5 " "

This means that city children have almost *six times* the high school opportunity of country children. Ninety per cent of country children never go further than the rural school.

*In the United States in General:*

Only 14 children out of every hundred entering the first grade complete a four-year high school course. But the situation is encouraging because high school enrollment in the United States is now one hundred times as great as in 1870, being then 19,000 and now (in 1920) about 2,000,000 (*L. P. Ayres*).

## V. RURAL HEALTH.

In a study of the health records of half a million children, from both town and country, Dr. Thomas D. Wood, of Teachers' College, found that:

Forty-eight per cent of country children have defective teeth but only thirty-three per cent of city children are so neglected. Twenty-eight per cent of country children have had tonsils and twenty-three per cent adenoids, while urban figures for the same handicaps are sixteen per cent and twelve per cent. In ear defects country children are four times worse than city children, while eye defects run twenty-three per cent for rural children and only twelve per cent for urban. Even breathing defects and malnutrition are



worse in the country than in the city, sixteen per cent of country children being improperly fed and nourished, while only seven per cent of city children suffer from this cause.

Dr. Wood also finds that the death rate in rural areas is five times as high as in New York City, the metropolis of the nation. (*See Bulletin on "Health Essentials for Rural School Children," procurable from Dr. Wood's office.*)

These facts are further corroborated by the findings of the United States Public Health Service which discovered, after making a sanitary survey of fifteen rural counties in different states that sixty-eight per cent of the water supply in these counties was contaminated by underground drainage from barns and pig pens, and that only thirty-two per cent of the farm houses were effectively screened from flies. The conclusion of this survey is that "sanitary conditions in the rural districts generally of the United States are grossly faulty and in need of correction."—(*See "Rural Sanitation," Bulletin No. 94, United States Public Health Service.*)

All local health surveys of rural counties support this contention, also, and point to the superiority of urban health and sanitation as compared with rural. In Renville County, Minnesota, for example, Miss Amalia M. Bengtson, County Superintendent of Schools, at Olivia, found 4,095 defective children, or 81 per cent defectiveness in a rural school population of 5,826 children. The classified types and percentages of this defectiveness as revealed by the survey were as follows:

Malnutrition (subnormal).....	689
Nervous Disorder.....	671
Eyes.....	1,397
Nose.....	2,284
Throat.....	1,705
Teeth.....	2,361
Skin.....	421
Heart.....	14
Lungs.....	2
Neck Glands.....	521
Earaches.....	287
Enlarged Thyroid.....	81
Blepharitis.....	200



## VI. TEACHING AND THE RURAL TEACHING SITUATION.

1. Total number of public school teachers in the United States..... 600,000
2. Number of rural teachers in one and two-teacher schools..... 300,000

3. *Education and Professional Preparation.*

- (a) Of these 300,000 rural teachers 50 per cent, or 150,000 have not completed a four-year high school.
- (b) Ten per cent or 30,000 have finished only the seventh or eighth grade of the elementary school.
- (c) One-third or about 100,000 have had no professional preparation whatever.
- (d) Less than two per cent are normal school graduates and only one-tenth of one per cent have had special training.

4. *Tenure.*

Three-tenths of all rural teachers, or about 90,000 leave the field annually while at least two-thirds remain not more than one year in the same school.

5. *Salary.*

Salaries for all teachers in the United States have increased only twelve per cent in the last three years while the cost of living has more than doubled.

The average annual salary for all elementary teachers in 1918 was only \$630. For rural teachers the average is less, probably about \$500.

In a recent study (1919) of three typical counties in every state, A. O. Neal of the Bureau of Education found that forty per cent of the rural teachers in the United States receive less than \$600 per year; 24 per cent less than \$500; and eleven per cent less than \$400, while only five per cent receive \$1,000 or more.

6. *Negro Teachers.*

There are 30,000 negro teachers in the United States, half of whom have had no education beyond the sixth grade of the elementary school.

The average yearly salary of all negro teachers in rural schools in 1916 was \$129 (*See Bulletin 1916, No. 38, Bureau of Education.*)

7. *Teacher-Shortage.*

In 1918 Secretary Hagill of the National Education Association found an actual shortage of 35,000 teachers, with 65,000 teaching positions filled by candidates of lower qualifications than formerly.

In September, 1920, the Bureau of Education reported an actual shortage of 18,000 teachers and the employment of about 40,000 unqualified candidates.

VIII. ADMINISTRATION AND SUPERVISION.

1. *State Superintendents.*

In 31 states, state superintendents are elected by popular vote. In 9 states they are appointed by the governor and in 8 states appointed by the state board of education.

2. *County Unit.*

The county unit is employed in twenty states. Of these 11 are of the pure county type and 9 of the semi-county type.

3. *County Superintendents.*

The office of county superintendent is established in 39 states. In 29 states these officers are still politically chosen, and their average salary in 1917 was \$1,375 as compared with an average of \$2,360 for urban superintendents.

There are 3,087 rural superintendents in the United States including 2,820 county superintendents, nineteen per cent of whom are women. Each county superintendent supervises an average of 132 teachers in 84 buildings, scattered over an average territory of 555 square miles; eighty-two per cent of all county superintendents have no assistants.

4. *Rural Supervision.*

Technically trained rural school supervisors are employed in but twelve states, namely, the New

England states and New Jersey, Maryland, Delaware, North Carolina, Virginia and Wisconsin. Practically speaking, there is no such thing as real rural school supervision in the United States.

#### 5. *Consolidation.*

There are now about 10,500 consolidated schools in the United States. States which lead in this movement are Ohio, Indiana, Iowa, Minnesota, Washington and Louisiana.

It is estimated by the Bureau of Education that 170,000 of the present 210,000 one-teacher schools of the nation can ultimately be consolidated, leaving only 40,000 schools in mountainous and sparsely settled sections where the plan will be impracticable for many years.

### IX. REMEDY.

The remedy for the above inequalities is to be found chiefly through state and federal aid as provided in the Sterling-Towner Bill now before Congress.

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What the best and wisest parent wants for his own child, that must be the community want for all its children. Any other ideal for our schools is narrow and unlovely; acted upon, it destroys our democracy.—*John Dewey.*

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In general the community should insist that the status and prospects of young persons are not matters which can be left to the haphazard convenience of individual firms or of closed industrial groups, and that the number of juveniles employed, the proportion they bear to adults, and the opportunities afforded for acquiring some remarkable skill for the future, are matters which concern the public welfare.—*Janus, in the Contemporary Review, February, 1921.*

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## CHILD LABOR VERSUS CHILDREN'S WORK

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RAYMOND G. FULLER

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Nothing could be farther from the truth than the rather widespread notion that child labor reform is predicated on the assumption that children should have no work whatever to do. It must be said, however, that the belief that children should have work is responsible for a good deal of child labor. Though much has been done by society to abolish child labor, little has been done to establish children's work on a proper basis. Society has made no serious constructive attack on the children's work problem, but sooner or later we must come to grips with this problem. The school has not done its part toward answering the true needs of children; neither has the home, and the urban home is under a heavy handicap in this regard. Instead of enough children's work we have had too much child labor. As part of the solution of the child labor problem, as a means to the abolition of child labor and the breaking down of opposition to reform, we must give attention to the work that children should have and see that they have it. To establish children's work is quite as important as to establish children's play or to abolish child labor. These are all aspects of a single problem.

Let us consider for a moment some of the supposed values of child labor. In defence of it, we have heard the assertion that it furnishes training in the sense of responsibility and in the habit of thrift, and that it affords the discipline of self-subordination to unpleasant tasks. However, there is abundant opportunity for developing the sense of responsibility in the home and the school—through household duties, home-projects under school auspices, schemes of self-government, and so on. The same is true of thriftiness. Moreover, thrift is not merely a matter of money, and the virtues connected with it may be developed in relation to school supplies, home possessions, food, and clothes. Child laborers have not yet been shown to be especially thrifty with their earnings. As to the disciplinary value of child labor, modern psychology teaches that the only discipline that is worth while is that which accords with the child's own nature, his instincts and desires, not all of them, of course, but a selected few. It is not the discipline

that runs counter to his nature, resulting in nothing more than sullen obedience or strained submission. This latter kind weakens or breaks what we sometimes, rather inaccurately, call the will. The activity that develops the will is willing activity. Work performed in accordance with the child's own purposes and desires has far more disciplinary value than drudgery.

The assertion, which is not infrequent, that doing away with child labor would do away with experiences that develop vigor of personality and strength of character, that it would make children's lives too soft and easy, might be answered by a question, why child labor for some children and not for others? Parents seldom want their own children to be child laborers. This is never the wish of educated and well-to-do parents. Child labor reform does not seek the removal of obstacles and difficulties from the lives of children, but only obstacles to development and achievement. There is nothing prejudicial or weakening to character in suitable schooling, suitable play or suitable work, the three principal substitutes alike for child labor and child idleness; these on the contrary challenge and exercise and discipline all the growing powers of the child, leading to self-development, self-control, self-discovery, self-confidence, and the fulness of self-hood.

Psychologically, the fundamental characteristic of child labor is unmotivated activity—or activity motivated from without rather than from within. Some forms of activity involved even in school work may be described as child labor. They are beyond the child's needs, that is to say, beyond his powers, except as they are externally motivated or artificially forced. They may run directly counter to his needs; for instance, his need of free bodily movement or his need of interesting occupation. Child labor in the schools is one of the chief causes of child labor in industry and agriculture and on the streets. Child labor out of school is often entered upon as a means of escape from child labor in school. Schooling must be somehow reconciled both with what goes on inside the child and with what goes on outside the school if it is not to be child labor.

The criteria of children's work are numerous. We shall mention only five: (1) Children's work leaves plenty of time for schooling and for play. (2) It is performed in suitable places. (3) Children's work is of a kind that not only is not injurious but is positively favorable to physical and to mental development and health. (4) It is educational in the sense that has to do with one's accumulating



fund of knowledge (as well as with the educative process and mental power). (5) Children's work is supervised work. The supervision may be slight, but it is there, and it is always in the interest of the child himself.

In distinguishing between child labor and children's work, very definite psychological facts and principles are available for guidance and aid. This from John Dewey is suggestive: "To confine the growing child to the same kind of muscular activity is harmful both physically and mentally; to keep on growing, he must have work that exercises his whole body, which presents new problems, which teaches him new things, and thus develops his powers of reasoning and judgment. Any manual labor ceases to be educative the moment it becomes thoroughly familiar and automatic." Child labor is child labor partly because it is not educative in this psychological sense. It does not give the child experience in solving problems and coming off well from situations; it does not, in other words, develop intelligence.

To illustrate further the educative possibilities of work in contrast with conditions characteristic of child labor, let us take the situation of the children of tenant farmers as Charles E. Gibbons found it in Tennessee. "The kinds of work the children are called upon to do in the one-crop sections is not training them to be any better farmers than their parents. It is mere drudgery and wholly uneducational. It does not teach them thrift and economy, for the parents, as a rule, get all the returns from their labor; in fact, their labor is simply a 'board and keep' proposition. Out of 112 tenant parents in Tennessee only 18 reported their children owning anything, such as a pig, calf, acre of corn, cotton, etc., and receiving the profits therefrom. There is nothing in this drudgery that centers interest in the farm." Farm work is not drudgery to children if it be work in which an intelligent interest has been developed through agricultural clubs or through schools related to rural life; but it is drudgery and it is child labor when it is meaningless labor, or forced labor, or in any way excessive.

Uninteresting work is fatiguing work. "A man with no interest is rapidly fatigued," said Galton; and so is a boy. A boy can do more work with less fatigue and injury if it possesses that element of interest which is characteristic of children's work. Work in which the movements themselves rather than the thing to be done require attention, in which the action springs from the mind of



another or from external compulsion rather than spontaneously and purposively from the mind of the doer, causes a large nervous expenditure for a small muscular result and tends toward excessive fatigue. O'Shea remarks: "Observe a boy at play and at work. The play may really be harder in the sense that more gross energy may be expended and more difficult movements are performed, but yet he is really less fatigued over the heavier than the lighter task." The difference is one of interest, and it is interest that levels the distinction between play and the work that is not drudgery. Interest is fundamental not only to play and to children's work, but to the learning process, regard for which is one of the criteria of children's work. Woodworth says that a trade or profession "cannot be learned without getting interested in it directly and on its own account."

Dewey shows the relative value of the school and of work in a store in furthering the education process: "The grocer's boy knows what a peck is because he has used it to measure things with, but since his stock of knowledge is not increased as he goes on measuring out peck after peck, the point is soon reached where intellectual discovery ends and mere performance of a task takes its place. This is the point where the school can see that the pupil's intellectual growth continues; while the activity of the mere worker who is doing the thing for its immediate practical use becomes mechanical. The school says the pupil has had enough of this particular experience; he knows how to do this thing when he needs to and he has understood the principles or facts which it illustrates; it is time he moved on to other experiences which will teach him other values and facts. When the pupil has learned how to follow a receipt, how to handle foodstuffs, and use the stove, he does not go on repeating the same elementary steps; he begins to extend his work to take in the larger aspects of cooking. The educative value of the cooking lessons continues because he is now studying questions of food values, menus, the cost of food, and the chemistry of food stuffs, and cooking. The kitchen becomes a laboratory for the study of a fundamental factor in human life."

Almost nobody believes in child labor, and almost everybody believes in children's work. Mere recognition of the fact that a difference between the two exists—and that is by no means universal among parents and citizens—is not, however, the whole end of the difficulty. It must be understood wherein they differ, how

they differ. As the data of scientific research accumulate, we must in course of time set up for the guidance of parents, schoolmen, and administrators of the law, clearer standards of what constitutes children's work as distinguished from child labor. We are setting up standards of physical fitness for children entering industry and are thinking a little about setting up standards of mental fitness. We are measuring *children* with reference to *their* fitness to go to work, but we ought also to measure *work* with reference to *its* fitness for children. We ought to know very precisely what kinds of work are especially suitable for boys and girls in their various stages of development. This, to an extent, Vocational Guidance is attempting to do; but, important as it is to distinguish between suitable and unsuitable jobs, this is not quite the same thing as to distinguish between suitable and unsuitable work. The latter distinction will serve in making the former, but it has to do with the child's *work* needs, rather than his *vocational* needs. The work needs are psychological rather than sociological. What they are exactly and how they are best and most fully to be met are questions calling for knowledge far beyond that represented in the child psychology and the educational practice of the present day.

That children have work impulses and needs as well as play impulses and needs, and that they should have the experience and discipline of suitable work activities, is not to be gainsaid. The public school has a responsibility not only for the formal schooling of children and for the enrichment of their play life, but also for the enrichment and partial guidance of their work life. They should educate not only *through* work but *for* work; and not only for *adult* work, but for *children's* work. The schools are beginning to recognize their proper relation to work activities outside the school. Some of them are allowing credit for milking the cow, caring for the horse, splitting kindling-wood, sweeping and dusting the house, and caring for the baby. But merely to give credit for the performance of home tasks and duties is not enough. Children should be helped in school to a more efficient and intelligent usefulness in the home. Meriam, writing of the relation of the school to home life says: "Boys and girls waste a great deal of time at home because they do not know what to do. . . . Every boy should have some sort of shop at home, which may be equipped very meagerly at first; it will be better equipped when its value is discovered. The girl does not call for a special space called a shop; the whole house



is hers. Knowledge, direction, and encouragement to make things useful or artistic, or both, are needed; there is scarcely a home which does not need this constructive work on the part of the children. To instruct children in handwork, not as a school exercise, but as an occupation that should have a large place in the home, is the opportunity and the obligation of the schools."

It is greatly to be regretted that vocational training and part-time schools are so often recommended and urged with too little thought of their developmental value, their effect on the child. Our vocational education suffers from the pressure and domination of the industrial institution; and the industrial institution does not exist for the satisfaction of children's needs. Says Helen Marot: "The institution of industry rather than institution of education, dominates thought in industrial education courses. It is the institution of industry as it has affected the life of every man, woman and child, which has inhibited educational thought in conjunction with schemes for industrial schools. No established system of education or none proposed is more circumscribed by institutionalized thought than the vocational and industrial school movement." The vocational education of today is almost as far from meeting the needs of children, as children, as the older traditional education. Just as the latter has overemphasized *subjects*, to the neglect of child nature, so the former is now overemphasizing *vocations*. In both the traditional and the vocational curriculum, the content of the whole is divided, subdivided, and parcelled out according to what is believed to be the child's ability at his age; that is, the starting point is the subject or the vocation itself, not the child. Growth, however, is the really important consideration. The vocational curriculum has the advantage in that it involves more action, especially action of body and mind together, and that it also makes the appeal of the concrete and practical.

In considering the true work needs of children, we have to consider the child, not industry or production, and not the economic condition of parents; and the responsibility of the schools in regard to children's work will not and cannot be met by any method which fails to emphasize first and all the time the growth, development, and education of the child himself.

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If we do not give children our best in their childhood they will give us their worst in their adulthood.





#### DICTUM

I am against child labor.

It isn't so much that the employment of children  
In our factories and institutions  
Robs them of their youth,  
Prevents their education,  
Destroys their health  
And encourages their parents in idleness and vice;  
It is rather  
That the neighborhood newsdealer  
Sometimes during a rush  
Enlists the services of his ten-year-old son  
In sorting the papers and magazines  
For delivery,  
With the result that a customer  
Who cannot face the day without having read *The World*  
Wakens up to the headlines of *The Times*  
And that *The National Geographic Magazine*  
Is frequently left at the door  
Instead of *The Smart Set*.

I am against child labor.

—*Baird Leonard in New York Telegraph.*

---

A young negro was asked where he came from. He drew himself up proudly.

"I'm from the first state in the Union, sah."

"New York?"

"No sah, Alabama, sah."

"But Alabama isn't the first state in the Union."

"Alphabetically speaking, sah, alphabetically speaking."

—*Sunday School Advocate.*



## BOOK SHELF

**JIMMY QUIGG, OFFICE BOY.** Harold S. Latham. Illustrated by Edward C. Caswell. New York: The Macmillan Company.

The pragmatic test (and what is a better method of criticism?) was applied to "Jimmy Quigg, Office Boy." We tried it on three boys and two girls, and the report in each case was favorable. In two instances (one boy and one girl) it was enthusiastic. We are rather struck with the discovery of a boys' book that appeals to "real boys" and also to girls—"real girls" should we say? We were even more impressed with the fact that this boy's book—we read it ourself—seems rather to enforce an ideal than to point a moral. In the juvenile field it corresponds to the problem novel, dealing with character and conduct from the juvenile standpoint. No mean achievement. Yet it contains plenty of action—there's something doing all the while and some of it is exciting. Especially noteworthy is the fact that Jimmy Quigg does not become President of the United States, at least not in the book. We have a prejudice, by the way, against boys' books that inculcate the idea that the road to success lies through becoming an office boy or a newsboy. Statistically this idea is quite contrary to the facts. We wish Mr. Latham would write a book, from the boys' own standpoint, on the problem of premature abandonment of school. No one could do it better.

R. G. F.

**GAMES FOR CHILDREN'S DEVELOPMENT.** Hilda A. Wrightson. New York: The McCann Co.

This is an excellent handbook, especially suited for teachers and others dealing with subnormals. But, as Dr. H. H. Goddard says in his Introduction, "Inasmuch as normal children are much like feeble-minded children of the same mental age, though with more spontaneity, it is clear that these games will be of equal value to young normal children and will have great value in helping them to develop their latent powers and to work off their natural energy in profitable ways."

**INTRODUCTION TO RURAL SOCIOLOGY.** Paul L. Vogt. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

An exhaustive textbook, written by a man who knows. It stresses the physical and economic basis of rural social life.

## STATE CHILD WELFARE STUDIES

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By making comprehensive studies, on a statewide basis, of child welfare conditions and problems, the National Child Labor Committee is rendering well recognized service in the Children's Code movement.

The purpose of a children's code is to standardise and to co-ordinate the laws and administrative agencies relating to children and to supply laws and administrative agencies covering aspects of child welfare that have been neglected in the statutes. This, of course, is far more than a mere process of simplification—far more than rearrangement for ready reference. A general code deals with laws already passed, while a children's code deals with boys and girls, their interests, and the conditions that affect them. The one is merely the arrangement of laws in orderly sequence so as to facilitate the use of the statute book's the other is legislative social service whose object is to enrich and to make secure the realm of childhood.—*Edward N. Clopper.*

The studies of the National Child Labor Committee lay the informational foundation for revision and standardization of the child welfare laws of a state. In Tennessee the study covered the following subjects:

- |                             |                       |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. The Child and the State. | 6. Rural Life.        |
| 2. Health.                  | 7. Juvenile Courts.   |
| 3. Schools.                 | 8. Mothers' Pensions. |
| 4. Recreation.              | 9. Institutions.      |
| 5. Child Labor.             | 10. Home Finding.     |

These studies are made a by a staff of specialists and always at the invitation of public-spirited citizens or social agencies within the state where the work is to be done.

### PUBLISHED REPORTS

Child Welfare in Oklahoma.....\$ .75	Child Welfare in Kentucky.....\$1.25
Child Welfare in Alabama..... 1.00	Child Welfare in Tennessee..... 1.50
Child Welfare in North Carolina. 1.00	Rural Child Welfare..... 2.00

These volumes should be in every library containing works on sociology and economics. They are of special value to social workers, clergymen, educators, journalists, legislators and administrators everywhere.

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HAS YOUR STATE HAD A CHILD WELFARE SURVEY?

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**National Child Labor Committee**

Incorporated to promote the interests of children

105 EAST 22D STREET  
NEW YORK CITY



# National Child Labor Committee

Incorporated to promote the interests of children

105 East 22d Street, New York City

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# The American Child

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF GENERAL CHILD WELFARE

FEBRUARY, 1922



*Photo by Hine*

PUBLISHED BY THE  
**National Child Labor Committee**  
Incorporated to promote the interests of children





# The American Child

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## IN THIS NUMBER:

A RURAL SLUM COMMUNITY

ECONOMICS AND CHILD WELFARE

TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES FOR CHILD PROTECTION

MILWAUKEE PERMIT SYSTEM

NEWSBOYS IN BIRMINGHAM

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**National Child Labor Committee**

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## A NEGLECTED FORM OF CHILD LABOR

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In spite of all the progress that has come during the campaign of the last fifteen years to improve conditions of industrial child labor, there has remained one wall of opposition which as yet has hardly been dented. Public sentiment has demanded legislative regulation of the age at which children may begin work in factories and workshops, the number of hours they may be employed, the kind of work they may do, and the conditions under which they may work. But legislation cannot be secured nor, a prerequisite, can public sentiment be aroused for the protection of the children on our streets.

It is not that study of this phase of child labor has been neglected. In cities and in towns all over the country the newsboys and the bootblacks and the messengers have been made the subject of special inquiries by agencies of various kinds—social, educational, and civic. But unfortunately it has been difficult to secure wide publicity for these studies, and interest in them dies before they have borne fruit.

In this number of the *American Child* are described two street trade studies—one, an individual study of newsboys in Birmingham made by the Alabama State Department of Child Welfare; the other a study in Dallas, Texas, made by the Civic Federation. The findings of these two studies are striking—but more striking is the fact that they are practically a repetition of the facts revealed in other studies. In no less than twenty-five cities and towns, the National Child Labor Committee has followed up children engaged in street trades and in each city without exception has found among them the same tendency to delinquency to poor school work and to be influenced by unwholesome surroundings.

We hear frequently of the millionaire who started life as a newsboy—but silent are the countless number who started in the same way but whose lives have been failures. More frequent than the millionaire as the adult of the newsboy is the man whose ambition was thwarted when a boy and whose life has been handicapped by the lack of education, physical hardships and unwholesome pleasures that street work involves.

These children must be given a fair chance. They must be insured the opportunity to enjoy a normal childhood—and this means protective legislation.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, which appears to be "Andrew Carnegie". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial 'A' and a long, sweeping tail.

# NEWS FROM THE CHILD WELFARE FIELD

## **Report of the Annual Christmas Conference of Child Welfare Workers of New England and North Atlantic States**

The Annual Christmas Conference of Child Welfare Workers of New England and the North Atlantic States was held in the Russell Sage Building, New York City, December 28th and 29th.

This Conference has grown from a group of a dozen persons who first met in 1912 to over a hundred. The original purpose has been held strictly in mind from the beginning, namely: To discuss frankly and honestly the various practical problems of child welfare agencies. The Conference has never permitted the reading of formal papers. Each session has taken some practical problem for discussion under the leadership of a chairman especially familiar with that problem. The program of last December had two main questions:

First: What are some of our failures and how can we turn failures into successes in our child welfare work? The special fields touched upon were: (1) The relation between welfare work for families and for children. (2) The relation between the care of dependent children and protective agencies. (3) The inter-relations of a child-placing agency and the foster families in which the children are placed. (4) The best kind of service which can be rendered to children by institutions and foster family care. (5) The light which the experience of a child welfare agency may throw upon the perplexing problems of wholesome family life, divorce, illegitimacy, etc.

The dominating spirit of these discussions was one of unusual humility and earnest inquiry as to more efficient means by which progress can be made. There was no echo even of the old acrimonious claims of institutions versus family care. The old question put by Pontius Pilate to the Nazarene might sum up the spirit of the whole discussion "What is truth?"



The second question was developed at a dinner meeting, namely: What are some of the most significant forward steps which have been made or are being made in the child welfare field?

The specific answers given to this question were:

(1) The program of the Commonwealth Fund for studying the methods for the prevention of delinquency. This program was discussed by Mr. Barry C. Smith, General Director of the Commonwealth Fund. The program includes:

(a) A five-year maintenance of a clinic for the study and guidance of children in New York City. A connection is being made with at least five public schools as a source of behavior problems for such clinical study and advice.

(b) The granting of ten fellowships yearly for the next five years to experienced and promising persons in the juvenile courts, schools, and other forms of social welfare, to study in the New York School of Social Work and the above-mentioned clinic.

(c) The partial maintenance of three-year demonstrations of visiting teacher work in at least ten new communities a year for three years.

(d) A field work psychiatric clinic service for at least ten juvenile courts and other local communities yearly for the next five years.

(e) A publicity service which will make the results of all the above studies and demonstrations available to the maximum number of teachers and child welfare workers throughout the country.

(2) Mr. Homer Folks also explained in detail the plans of the State Charities Aid Association to study the results of twenty-three years of placing children in foster homes by the Association.

(3) Mr. C. C. Carstens described (a) studies of intake of dependent children in selected counties in Illinois; (b) the problem of child protection in selected counties in New York State; (c) the results of efforts to readjust neglected children to the families from which they had been formerly taken in Massachusetts.

(4) Dr. Hastings H. Hart described the forward steps taken by the American Prison Association in connection with the National Association for the study of truant, neglected, and delinquent children.

With the formation of the Child Welfare League in 1921 the recent Conference in New York was held under the auspices of this League. A similar Conference under the League auspices was held in Chicago with an attendance of over a hundred on January 26th and 27th. A third local Conference is already planned to be held in the South during the month of March.

HENRY W. THURSTON.

### Illiteracy in the United States

The United States has by no means solved its illiteracy problem. According to the 1920 Census there are 4,931,905 illiterates over ten years of age in the United States exclusive of its outlying possessions. This means that 6.0 per cent of our population are unable to write not only in English but in any language. However we may feel slightly encouraged when we consider that there are 584,258 fewer illiterates now than in 1910, despite an increase of 13,738,354 in our total population.

The Southern States show the most notable reduction in illiteracy due largely to the great improvement in their school and child labor laws during the last decade. Georgia, for example, has 328,838 illiterates, but the percentage of illiteracy is 15.3 as compared with 20.7 in 1910. Alabama has reduced its illiteracy from 22.9 per cent in 1910 to 16.1 per cent in 1920; Louisiana from 29.0 to 21.9; Mississippi from 22.4 to 17.1; South Carolina from 25.7 to 18.1 and North Carolina from 18.5 to 13.1.

But while this section of the country has progressed, other sections have not been so successful. The 1920 Census lists 35.8 per cent of the illiterates as foreign born in comparison with a percentage of 29.9 in 1910. Connecticut which has a large immigrant population is the only state to show a greater percentage of illiteracy now than in 1910—its total percentage increasing from 6.0 to 6.2 with an increase of 13,929 in the number of its foreign born illiterates. New Jersey, which is also a great immigrant center, although its total percentage of illiteracy has decreased, has 18,044 more foreign born illiterates now than in 1910, and similar conditions exist in New York, Illinois and Massachusetts.

But we cannot lay all the blame on the negroes and the foreign born. 25.2 per cent of the illiterates in this country today are native whites. In Kentucky there are 112,206 native white illiterates, far outnumbering the 2,244 foreign born and the 40,548 negroes. Tennessee has 101,809 native white illiterates as compared with 1,263 foreign born and 79,532 negroes; and West Virginia has 44,324 native white illiterates and only 14,548 foreign born and 10,513 negroes.

The total annual appropriation of the Federal Government is \$5,686,005,706. Of this only .13 of 1 per cent is devoted to public education. If the United States is to live down its reputation as



one of the most illiterate of the greater nations, it must materially increase its appropriations for educational purposes.

---

### Reversion to Illiteracy

A newspaper in Durham, North Carolina, comments on the fact that, although the school enrollment is greater this year than ever before, a larger proportion of boys and girls of school age are at work than in any other city of the state. "The great majority of this class go to work in the mills and factories as soon as they are allowed to by the child labor laws." This means at 14 years, for the child labor law of North Carolina permits children to work at that age and the compulsory attendance law does not require attendance beyond that age, regardless of the school grade completed. The result is that many children are leaving school for work with a very flimsy educational equipment. "The largest classes," the newspaper continues, "are in the lower grades, while the fifth and sixth grades are small." A third or fourth grade education hardly teaches the child to read and write—it gives him no practical work, no background, nothing that enables him to do more than unskilled routine work. The child with such an educational handicap can seldom advance—he is doomed to a blind-alley job. The director of work for native-born illiterates in one of the southern states says that third and fourth graders are apt to "revert to illiteracy." She has found that many of the adults with whom she comes in contact, though now totally illiterate, have had three or four years at school some time in the past. This is a strong argument for basing compulsory attendance laws not on age but on achievement. This does not necessarily mean "grade," though at present this is our only measure for educational progress. It is necessary to prevent children from going to work not only until they are physically qualified but until they are educationally qualified. A child of fourteen who has not completed at least the sixth grade, preferably the eighth, is not qualified, and belongs in school.

---

### 1920 Census Figures Regarding School Attendance

The figures of the Census with regard to school attendance are equally significant. Of the 19,161,319 children 7 to 15 years of



age reported, 2,259,312 (11.8 per cent) are not attending school. The percentage for the 7 to 13 year group is 9.68 and for the 14 to 15 year group 20.03. The state with the highest percentage of attendance of the 7 to 13 year group is Massachusetts and of the 14 to 15 year group, Utah. Those with the lowest percentage are Kentucky and Rhode Island, respectively. It must be borne in mind that the Census inquiry as to school attendance was merely as to whether the person enumerated had attended school, college or any kind of educational institution at any time between September 1, 1919, and the census date, January 1, 1920. This would include children who had enrolled but had dropped out in the three month period between September and January, and would likewise include children who, according to the usual definition, had "left school," but who were in attendance at part-time classes, evening school, etc. Although the percentage of non-attendance is startling, it is encouraging to note that there is an increase of 4.26 per cent over 1919 for the 7 to 13 year group and 4.99 per cent for the 14 to 15 year group.

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### Better Attendance in Delaware Schools

Not only was "American Education Week" observed in Delaware but it was preceded by a "School Attendance Week." In his proclamation naming this week Governor Denney called attention to the fact that from one-fourth to one-third of the white pupils and one-third to one-half of the colored pupils in the rural schools were failing in promotion and added: "The chief reason why these pupils failed in promotion is that they attended school for so brief a period as to make it impossible for the teacher to advance them with the other pupils into the higher grade." The Bureau of Education of the Service Citizens of Delaware contributed to the success of this week by preparing and giving to the public up-to-date information with regard to attendance gathered by them on the individual pupil enrollment cards now in use in the schools throughout the state. Many interesting facts were revealed among which the following are the most significant:

1. Colored schools have a larger percentage of absences than white schools, and also a larger percentage of failures of promotion.

2. One-teacher schools have a larger percentage of failures of promotion than graded schools, although there are some striking examples to the contrary.

3. Irrespective of other factors, such as type of school and of race, the boys have a larger percentage of absences than the girls and a larger percentage of failures to advance.

4. Children of farmers, whether owners, tenants or laborers, have a larger percentage of absence than town residents, and children of farm tenants are at a greater disadvantage than children of farm owners or farm employees.

5. The first cause operating to keep the students away from school were, in their order of importance: illness, agricultural work, other work, parental indifference, late enrollment, weather and out of town.

6. These various causes did not all operate constantly throughout the year. Agricultural work was heavy in September, October, April, May and June. The most constant of all causes was illness, which was the slightest in September, with 3.2 per cent, and heaviest in February, with 9.5 per cent. Parental indifference was lightest in October, occasioning but .8 per cent, and heaviest in May and June, occasioning 3.4 per cent of absences.

7. The percentage of absence also varied with the type of school attended. The heaviest absence percentage occurred in the single-teacher schools, where one-fourth of all the days the pupils were enrolled in school during the year was absence and three-fourths only was attendance.

These facts speak for themselves. They are a striking confirmation—or more correctly, a repetition—of what the National Child Labor Committee has found in its studies in other parts of the country. The campaign for better child labor and compulsory school attendance laws for more strict enforcement of such laws, for improved schools, and for more adequate health protection cannot be allowed to weaken until such conditions as the above cease to exist.

---

### **Non-Promotion and School-Leaving in Toledo**

A recent study of non-promotion, made by the Toledo (Ohio) Consumers' League, revealed the fact that one child in every six fails of promotion, and that there is wide variation in the percentage of children failing in the different schools and even in different grades of the same school. The report recommends that a detailed study be made of the causes for non-promotion and for the strik-



ing decrease in enrollment from the first to the eighth grade; that an attempt be made to establish more definite standards for rating scholarship; that promotion periods be shorter. It also recommends several changes in school administration destined to increase the interest of the child in his work, thus eliminating one cause for non-promotion. These recommendations include the adoption of the junior high school form of organization; the employment of more men teachers in the upper grades of the elementary school; the employment of special teachers for children who have fallen behind in their work; the employment of visiting teachers; greater use of public libraries, the Museum of Art, and other educational facilities which the city affords. All of these changes, it believes, will be facilitated by the creation of a Vocational Guidance Bureau which would serve as a Child Study Laboratory, and include also in its duties the enforcement of the attendance law, the issuance of work permits and statistical work.

Of even greater interest is a study of children who leave school for work made jointly by the committee on Women and Children in Industry of the Toledo Woman's Committee of the Council for National Defense and the Toledo Consumers' League. This report was based on an intensive study of 329 children out of a total of 3,227 who received work permits between 1915 and 1917. Among the striking facts regarding working children brought out are the following: 92 per cent were retarded in school (38 per cent for more than three years); financial need and indifference are the most frequent causes for school leaving, each being responsible for about 50 per cent; most of the children have held more than one job since leaving school, the average number being about 3; 50 per cent of the jobs held during this period had been held for six months or less and only about 25 per cent had been held for over a year; there is no relationship whatever between the different jobs held by the same individual; the reason for leaving a job is usually better immediate wages, no regard being given to the possibility of advancement; wages are low and usually stay low. These and other facts lead to the following conclusions, which hold good for children throughout the country who leave school prematurely for work.

1. All these children left school with less specialized industrial learning, and some with less academic training, than it is possible for them to absorb and for reasons that are not insurmountable.



2. They entered industry without special training or guidance and started at a wage noticeably low.

3. Having entered industry they drifted from job to job without guidance and without any complete record being kept.

The recommendations of this report are specific. First in importance is the establishment of a Vocational Guidance Bureau which should include the following features: a child study laboratory, a vocational advisement department, a placement bureau, a work permit department, an attendance department, a statistical division, and a visiting teachers' staff.

Other recommendations include a course in Civics which will acquaint the child before leaving school with social studies; state aid for children who otherwise would be obliged to leave school because of economic pressure; industrial training in the schools; an effort to make both parents and children realize the importance of education; the extension of the upper age limit of the Compulsory Education law to 18 years, in order that boys and girls under that age, unless employed, must be in school.

Both of these reports are important in that they deal not with the usual measurements of school efficiency but with the basic failure of the school—*i.e.*, its inability to hold children and to educate them. Both recommend that a Bureau of Vocational Guidance be established; such a step should be taken not only because of the present need as demonstrated in these reports, but because it would create the machinery for further research and experimentation. In this way alone can the future needs of the Toledo school system be determined, and can the holding power of the schools be increased.

---

### The School in An Industrial Community

How the school system can be adjusted to the needs of an industrial community is explained in an unusually significant educational survey just made of the Francis Scott Key School located at Locust Point, Baltimore. This survey was made at the request of the school authorities who realized that, as at present organized, the school was not effectively meeting the needs of the community, and its recommendations should be considered by all schools in industrial centers. The conditions in the community affecting the

school and their results on the work of the school are summarized as follows:

1. Only about one-half of one per cent of the children of the Locust Point School ever go to a high school.
2. A large number of children, both boys and girls, leave school and go to work immediately on reaching their fourteenth birthday or very soon after.
3. The factories visited reveal the fact that most of the work-certificate children get jobs in which there is very little chance to learn a trade or to work up beyond a mere routine job.
4. The environment of the children at Locust Point is far from being an ideal one, and is likely to be worse in the future, when the industries occupy the open space they have in reserve.

Based on a detailed study of these facts, and in cooperation with the industrial establishments of the community the following reorganization was suggested:

1. Place all children 13 years of age or older, except a few of the "ungraded" and all others who have reached the sixth grade, into a division of the school to be run under a departmental organization and having a curriculum in which industrial training and the right kind of physical training and recreation are given an equal place with other subjects. This might be called an intermediate school.
2. Organize cooperative part-time classes for such students as must leave school and go to work before graduation from the intermediate school.
3. Provide a one-year trade or vocational course following the eighth grade.
4. More industrial work for slow and subnormal students who are now classified as "ungraded."
5. Evening grade or vocational classes for young men and young women who are working in the industries and are desirous of improving their education.

The method by which each of these changes could be accomplished, the type of school plant needed and the increased salary expense are fully discussed. The report comes out strongly against the early school-leaving of children to enter industry. It believes that with the reorganization suggested the appeal of the school will be stronger and children will remain for a longer period. The idea of a practical curriculum adapted to the community cannot be criticized. It is essential with such a program, however, to secure wise direction in order that the industrial side shall not be over-



emphasized and the school become a purely technical trade-training institution, no more adapted to secure a balanced development of the child than the present academic curriculum.

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### **Federal Aid for Child Welfare**

1921 has to its credit an advance step in social legislation. The "maternity bill," which has long had the endorsement of many social and civic organizations was enacted into law the day before Thanksgiving. Briefly, it provides federal aid to the states for the promotion of maternity and infant welfare. The Children's Bureau is charged with the administration of the act, and a Board of Maternity and Infant Hygiene is created, consisting of the Chief of the Children's Bureau, who serves as executive officer, the General-Surgeon of the U. S. Public Health Service, and the Commissioner of Education.

An appropriation of \$1,480,000 is authorized for the current fiscal year, and \$1,240,000 for succeeding years. Each state accepting the act will receive \$10,000 the first year and \$5,000 a year thereafter; and states providing \$5,000 of their own for this work will receive another \$5,000. In addition, \$710,000 a year is provided to be distributed among the States on the basis of population, provided the amount apportioned is matched by the state.

Five states—Delaware, Minnesota, New Hampshire, New Mexico and Oregon—in their 1921 legislative sessions had passed laws accepting the Act, if it should become a law. Since its passage 22 additional states have accepted it, the Act providing that, pending the next legislative session, the Governor of any state may authorize its acceptance.

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### **Kentucky Children's Code Commission**

Improvement in the juvenile court and probation situation in Kentucky is the end toward which the activities of the Kentucky Children's Code Commission will be chiefly directed during the present legislative session. Their report, prepared by Miss Mabel Brown Ellis of the National Child Labor Committee, was submitted to the Governor and General Assembly on January 22; it



included recommendations for the immediate enactment of seven bills, of which three concern courts and probation, and tentative recommendations for a comprehensive program of child welfare legislation which the Commission proposes to submit after revision to the General Assembly of 1924.

The immediate program includes a bill amending the present juvenile court act in the following particulars: age limit of 18 set for both boys and girls; jury trial eliminated; expenditure of public funds for court expenses authorized in all counties; suitable detention facilities required in all counties; transfer to criminal court limited to children over 15; transfer of jurisdiction from court to state institution required upon commitment; physical and mental examinations and treatment authorized.

The establishment of a family court or court of domestic relations, which is much needed in Louisville, apparently cannot be secured in Kentucky without amending the state constitution but probation service in the courts at present handling divorce, desertion and non-support cases would secure one important feature of the domestic relations court, and this is made possible by a bill providing for the appointment of probation officers in any court in the discretion of the judges.

A third bill provides for the appointment of a permanent state commission on juvenile courts and probation with the powers and duties usually exercised by such bodies.

The street trading clause of the Kentucky child labor law was recently held invalid on purely technical grounds which related to alleged errors in phraseology. An amendment eliminating these objections and a second amendment requiring the return of duplicate certificates by the issuing officer to the State Department of Labor will be submitted.

Amendment to the desertion and non-support act is designed to cover the case of the pregnant wife and to consolidate the various conflicting statutes now on the books. A new law is proposed to establish the legal status of abandoned children with reference to adoption.

Continuation and enlargement of the Kentucky Children's Code Commission under the name of the Kentucky Child Welfare Commission and its establishment upon a permanent basis are provided for in the last of the bills proposed for 1922. If this bill is

passed, Kentucky will be the first state to recognize the value of having permanently available such advisory and investigative services as the Child Welfare Commission can render.

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### **Wisconsin Supreme Court Decision**

A significant decision has recently been handed down by the Wisconsin Supreme Court setting aside an award of the Wisconsin Industrial Commission for injuries to a minor sustained while performing services incident to his employment. The case is that of a 14-year old boy employed with a work permit in a printing and bookbinding establishment. His duties were to run errands and to help at other odd jobs such as folding sheets of paper, pounding books recently bound, etc. It was claimed that he had been specifically instructed to keep away from all machines and had never been asked to do any work on a machine. Natural curiosity and interest in machinery, however, led him to attempt to cut a tablet for himself on a machine located in the room where he was working, and in doing so he cut off the ends of two fingers. The Commission awarded compensation, proceeding upon the theory that it was natural for a boy at that age to be attracted to machinery and that the employer should provide supervision to prevent injury resulting from this cause. The Trial Court sustained the award upon the theory that a boy who leaves his assigned task to satisfy his desire to see how a machine works, is no more outside of the scope of his employment than the adult who responds to the desire to rest, to warm himself or to refresh himself with food, and in such cases of adults awards have been given. The case was appealed, however, and the Supreme Court upheld the appeal on the ground that the child's injury was in no sense a result of his employment, nor due to negligence of the employer.

This case is but one more example of the tendency pointed out in the last issue of *THE AMERICAN CHILD* for young wage earners, because of the love of adventure, curiosity and irresponsibility inherent in youth, to suffer industrial accidents more readily than adults. Such irresponsibility on the part of the child may relieve the employer of direct blame; but if young people suffer accidents because of instincts and characteristics natural to youth, should



they not be forbidden to work in any capacity where the exercise of these natural instincts is apt to bring them misfortune?

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### **Child Labor in the Movies**

Benjamin S. Weiss of the University of Southern California has recently completed a study of 225 of the 1,500 children said to be annually employed in the production of motion pictures at Los Angeles. The California compulsory education law requires every child between the ages of 8 and 16 years to attend school at least four hours a day, but it is possible for the producers to get around these provisions by substituting private tutoring for school room attendance. These tutors have to be recommended by the public school authorities but they are paid by the companies. A certain grade of teaching is assured but the classes are held wherever it happens to be convenient and the screen children are subject to constant interruptions even during study hours.

There seemed to be a general feeling among the teachers questioned that children so employed became excitable, precocious, unreasonably mature and lacking in any power of concentration. Their experience in a world of flimsy make-believe and constant change cannot but have such an effect on their characters.

Mr. Weiss protests against the motion picture industry being granted certain privileges in the employment of children; but he also states that the blame does not rest entirely on individual producers but rather on a "combination of the impersonal attitude of modern business and the apparent need of employing children under questionable circumstances."

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### **The Meaning of Child Labor**

Messrs. A. C. McClurg & Company announce for spring publication "*The Meaning of Child Labor*," by Raymond G. Fuller, of the staff of the National Child Labor Committee. This book will be included in the National Social Science Series, of which President Frank L. McVey of the University of Kentucky is editor. Some idea of the scope and purpose of the volume may be gained from the following quotation from the author's preface:



"With progress in child-labor reforms, the conception of child labor has broadened; and with the broadening of this conception, the program of reform has expanded. The field of vision in child-labor reform includes today much that was not there, and much more that was not there conspicuously, at the beginning of the century—to go no farther back. This is partly due to accomplishment of first tasks, partly to enlightening experience, and partly to increasing knowledge about the child himself.

"In accordance with present views and conceptions, an outline of child labor and its problem would run somewhat as follows:

"(1) Direct effects (or hazards). These group themselves into physical, mental and moral.

"(2) Indirect effects (or deprivations). These are, among other things, loss of schooling and loss of play, constituting together an educational loss, if we take 'educational' in its broadest sense.

"(3) Substitutes for child labor. Here, by implication, we add to our preceding category, since the principal substitutes are play, schooling, and suitable work, and these are all educational. Child labor might almost be defined as the absence of its substitutes.

"(4) Methods of reform may be classified as prohibitory, preventive and substitutional. Methods of each kind are necessary. Establishment of the substitutes for child labor in the lives of all children is both a goal and a method of child labor reform—the method of overcoming evil with good.

"Recent progress in child-labor reform is seen to be a matter not only of outward accomplishment but of inner growth that promises even greater accomplishment in the future than in the past. It well exemplifies the words of Professor A. J. Todd, who writes: 'It is perfectly apparent by this time that the Promised Land of wholesome social life cannot be seen clearly by eyes dimmed with easy tears; nor can the call to constructive social work be heard above the thumping of a fluttery heart. Social reform of any and every kind must be thought out and carried through in the scientific spirit.' "

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### **Newsboys of Dallas**

"Society in the mass is heedless and more or less callous. The city streets are where that mass heedlessness and callousness are most in evidence. When plastic, immature, careless boyhood is

set to work in that great, hurrying selfish machine, what happens to the boy?"

This is what a survey recently published by the Civic Federation of Dallas tries to find out. The report covers the cases of about 300 boys, basing its facts on data gathered from the Street and Newsboys' Club, the school, the family, the boy himself, the neighborhood, the Juvenile Court and the employer. It is valuable to note that all such surveys lead to the same conclusion—the streets of our cities are no place for children.

Widowed mothers and little newsboys seem to be linked together in the public mind. But out of 263 Dallas newsboys only 26 were the children of widows, while 176 were living at home with both their parents. Two hundred and thirteen out of 267 boys were retarded in school and 134 out of 246 were irregular in attendance. Sixteen per cent of 303 investigations revealed delinquency with Juvenile Court action. Comparison with the delinquency figures for the total boy population of Dallas shows that delinquency is two and three-fourths times greater among newsboys than among the group as a whole. However, this is to be expected when it is considered that 257 of these 303 boys were between the ages of ten and fifteen; that the great majority of them were just entering the age of adolescence—the age when a boy is most impressionable and when "street and gang" are liable to have their worst effect on his character.

The pen pictures at the end of the report are a series of vivid sketches of the characters and lives of some of these boys showing their great capacity for good as well as evil. How much longer is this group of future citizens to be permitted to encounter the mental and moral hazards of street work and run the risk of developing bad qualities rather than good?

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### **Educational Centre for Unemployed Juveniles**

A significant report has recently been prepared by the Bucks Education Committee with regard to the educational centre for unemployed juveniles at High Wycombe, England. Instruction was given during the regular school hours from June 8 to July 29 and during this time several encouraging results were noted: (1) the



spirit of resentment aroused by the element of compulsion gave way to interest, many remaining after the required age; (2) Although many of the youths who entered were actually illiterate, much progress was made in academic lines. (3) Conduct, which at first was very bad and beyond control, showed steady improvement.

The use to which this time was put is of special interest and might well be considered by the schools of this country. "During the morning session instruction was given in general subjects, but a distinct vocational bias was followed for Workshop and Industrial calculations, Talks on Industrial and Historical facts concerning the Town and County; on Civics and Citizenship, on Literature, etc., with Practical and Free Drawing. The afternoons were given up to visits to works and places of interest, lantern lectures, and to sports and recreations."

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### **Social Work in the First Grade of a Public School**

A two years' study of children entering the kindergarten and first grade of one of the Philadelphia public schools has recently been completed by the White-Williams Foundation of Philadelphia. The study was undertaken in the hope that such an intensive study would indicate the proportion of school children needing home visits and individual attention. At the same time, based on the results of the physical and psychological examinations given during the study, specific effort was made to secure necessary treatment and assistance in adjustment for the children in the groups studied.

Although the number of children studied was not sufficiently great to permit detailed conclusions, the study made clear that a large majority of children in the lower grades are suffering from physical defects that seem to be retarding their progress in school, and that, in the greater number of cases, their families are anxious to have these defects remedied.

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### **The Harmon Foundation**

William E. Harmon, a trustee of the National Child Labor Committee since 1904, has established the Harmon Foundation to promote the establishment of playgrounds in towns and small cities.



The Foundation will not give money for playgrounds outright, but it will give its services and organization. East Rutherford, New Jersey, is the first town to benefit from Mr. Harmon's plan. The vacant lot long used as an athletic field was offered for sale as a factory site. At the request of the citizens of the town, the Harmon Foundation organized a playground committee, secured an option on the land, divided it into small lots after the manner of a real estate subdivision and offered it for sale at one dollar a lot. The school children were organized as a selling force and the sale was advertised by the Foundation and carried on under its direction. A whirlwind auction of choice lots closed the campaign and the playground was sold, the buyer's deed for each lot conveying interest and title therein to the Playground Association forever.

The offices of the Foundation are at 140 Nassau Street, New York City. Miss Ethel Bedient, formerly on the staff of the National Child Labor Committee, is director of the work and would be glad to correspond with any one wishing to take up the play needs of his own home town.

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### BREVITIES

Through the courtesy of the American Correspondent of the International Labor Office, the National Child Labor Committee has received a summary of the legislative action taken by the different countries with regard to the Child Labor Conventions adopted at the Washington Conference in 1919. It has received also copies of the Draft Conventions and Recommendations adopted at the Third International Labor Conference in Geneva, 1921. A summary of the legislative action and pending legislative action on these conventions will be ready shortly, and a complete summary of the results of the International Conferences will be printed in the May issue of *THE AMERICAN CHILD*.

According to the Annual Report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue for 1921, over \$24,000 has been received during the past year under the Child Labor Tax Law. This is an increase of nearly \$22,000 over the 1920 amount. The tax imposed is ten per cent of the annual net profit of the tax payer. Certificates

of age are now issued by federal authorities in five states. The number of applications this year in these states is 29 per cent below the number recorded for the preceding year. The report attributes this decrease to the tendency of employers to refuse employment to children under 16, when sufficient labor over that age is available.

The case to test the constitutionality of the present federal tax on child labor which has been pending in the Supreme Court since December, 1919, has been assigned for hearing on March 6th.

The Philippines have recently created the office of Public Welfare Commissioner for the purpose of organizing general welfare work, the chief initial aim being the reduction of infant mortality. Dr. Jose Fabella, former Secretary of the Public Welfare Board and Director of the Bureau of Dependent Children, has been appointed Commissioner. The First National Conference on Infant Mortality and Public Welfare was held in Manila the second week in December. Almost thirteen hundred delegates were registered from towns and communities all over the Philippine Islands.

Belgium has adopted the advanced program of a medical examination for every juvenile not later than a month after he has entered an industrial occupation, to be repeated once a year until the child reaches eighteen, and oftener in case of disease. In the United States, although twenty states provide for the physical examination of every child entering industry, no state has yet provided for examinations of working children at regular intervals.

The Connecticut Legislature of 1921 took a marked step in advance by enacting, although in revised form, the major part of the recommendations of the State Child Welfare Commission. These recommendations were limited to the care of dependent, delinquent, and educationally exceptional children. The Legislature established a juvenile court system, scrapped the out-of-date system of child placing, and established in its stead a State Bureau of Child Welfare, which is given among other duties the power to license institutions caring for children and homes where children are boarded. The Commissioner of Child Welfare is designated as the



chief probation officer of the state. A beginning was made toward providing special education for physically and mentally handicapped children, but the appropriation asked for was not granted.

The Industrial Commission of Wisconsin reports that over \$100,000 has been paid by employers since 1917 in increased compensation to minors injured while employed in violation to the State Child Labor Law. These payments have been made under the Workmen's Compensation Act which provides that when a minor is injured during illegal employment, the compensation shall be trebled and the entire increase shall be paid by the employer and not by the insurance carrier. This clause has been tested in the Supreme Court and held to be constitutional.

Inability to adjust to school conditions, the necessity of leaving school for economic reasons and the difficulty of finding suitable work which offers opportunity for advancement are three of the most distressing problems which children face. For the solution of each, an understanding of the individual child, of his home environment, his temperament, and his ambitions, as well as of his ability, is required. Such understanding is being made possible in Philadelphia by the White-Williams Foundation. A pamphlet recently published by them, outlining the work of the Department of School Counselors, the Department of Scholarships, and the Junior Employment Service, is both a confirmation of the need for such work and a demonstration of its value.

Plans are under way in Providence, Rhode Island, to establish a scholarship fund for the use of families who need such help in order to keep their children in school until they have finished at least the high school grade. It is hoped that this money will be raised and administered through the Vocational Guidance Department. It has been estimated that there are about one hundred cases each year where a little assistance would mean the difference between an ambitious boy or girl leaving school for good and remaining to finish his or her high school course.

The National Child Labor Committee has permission to offer a child labor play, "The Fifteenth Candle," with rights reserved



by the author. The play can be presented only for the benefit of the National Child Labor Committee. The play requires five characters and simple stage setting. It takes 25 to 30 minutes to present. Copies and further information can be secured from the National Child Labor Committee.

The International Sunday School Association will observe Children's Week from April 30 to May 7. This will be the sixth year that the Association has observed this week for the purpose of emphasizing the religious education of children.

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### CASH GIRL

With stiff fingers Sara buttoned her shabby coat over an aching heart. Open that report card here? Never! The three red P's she knew were there burned through the brown envelope like letters of fire. She was beaten. It was no use. She would try not to *want* to be a teacher any more.

The after-school group around Teacher's desk watched a forlorn little figure turn the corner toward "home." Rose's big eyes filled with tears. "I know why Sara can't get her lessons, Miss Jones," she said slowly. "Her brother says he can't keep her at school and she can't bear to give it up, and she's just killing herself in that store every afternoon and Saturday to get money so she can stay."

"Cash! Cash Girl!" Come here, I say. What do you think this is to-night—a rest cure? It's only half-past eight. If you're not strong enough to keep our time you'd better get another job."

—*The White-Williams Foundation Nov., 1921.*

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Recognizing the tragic handicap of the unlettered man in a society which more and more takes intelligence for granted, educational leaders deplore the great disparity in school opportunities. In American commonwealths, for example, the school "year" varies from four months to ten months. In one state four-fifths of the teachers have only an elementary education, while in certain other states all are at least normal school or high school graduates. In 1916 the average pay of teachers in California was nearly thrice that of Mississippi. In the same year the state at the head of the list spent nine times as much on its average child as the state at the foot of the list. Apparently Scandinavia and the Balkans, Scotland and Chile stand scarcely farther apart in respect to educational opportunities than do certain states in the American Union.

—*Edward A. Ross in "The Principles of Sociology."*

## **The American Child**

**A Journal of Constructive Democracy**

**Published Quarterly**

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**Yearly subscription, four issues, two dollars. Single copies fifty cents.**

### *Address:*

**NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE**  
**105 East 22nd Street - - New York City**

## **Contributors to this Issue**

**Esther Lee Rider** is Child Labor Inspector in the State Department of Child Welfare of Alabama.

**Dr. George P. Barth** is the Director of School Hygiene in the Health Department of Milwaukee.

**Walter W. Armentrout, Raymond G. Fuller and Charles E. Gibbons** are members of the staff of the National Child Labor Committee.

# NEWSBOYS IN BIRMINGHAM

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ESTHER LEE RIDER

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## INTRODUCTION

A careful study of the hours of work, the earnings, and the general conduct of 143 boys engaged in selling or distributing newspapers in Birmingham was made by the child labor division of the State Child Welfare Department of Alabama for the purpose of determining whether the school work of the boys thus engaged for an average of from two to four hours daily is materially affected by the work, and whether street trades have a tendency to produce delinquency and low moral standards.

To make this study as accurate and complete as possible, every available source for obtaining information concerning the work, its effect upon the child's habits and character and its relation to his home environment was sought. The newspaper offices were visited at the hours when the boys came for their papers, their conduct upon the street was studied, schools were visited, attendance officer and teacher of each child were interviewed, a visit was made to the home of each child, juvenile court records were searched, the secretary of the Boys' Club was visited frequently to procure records and histories of those of the boys who were members of the club, and much information was obtained by engaging the boys themselves in friendly conversation.

## BIRMINGHAM NEWSBOYS

Birmingham has three newspaper corporations, each of which publishes from two to four editions daily. The first morning papers come from the press about 5 o'clock in the morning and other street-sales editions are released from noon to 5 o'clock.

The majority of the boys studied sold the afternoon editions probably because afternoon work interfered less with their school attendance. Since the work of distribution requires less time than



selling, about an equal number of boys were found engaged in the distribution of the morning and the afternoon papers. About 150 men known as district carriers have charge of the local distribution to regular subscribers. These men contract for a certain number of papers from the newspaper corporations and their earnings depend entirely upon how successfully they collect from the subscribers and how economically they can distribute the papers, hence each of these district carriers employs four or five boys as cheaply as possible to assist in distributing the papers. Many of the district carriers are careless or ignorant of the requirements of the Alabama child labor law, and therefore a very small per cent of the boys whom they employ have been required to obtain badges. This study does not include any of the boys who have no badges. The total number of boys included in this study is 143, of whom 107 were street sellers and 36 route carriers.

The Alabama child labor law limits the hours of work of boys engaged in street trade to from 5 a.m. to 8 p.m., but papers were purchased from boys as early as 3 o'clock in the morning and as late as 10.30 at night. Nearly all of the boys admitted that they remained on the street later than 8 o'clock if they had not disposed of all their papers before that hour. However, none admitted that they habitually sold later than 8 o'clock and they stated that they were required to report to a sales manager between 7.30 and 8 o'clock to check up for the day.

A certain number of papers is supposed to be sold on each down town corner, the number being based on an average number that a successful seller has been accustomed to dispose of there. While the corporations stated that it was not their policy to allow the corners to be bartered, several boys said that they had bought corners or that their corners had been resold when they were not doing successful selling. When a boy fails to sell the entire number of papers allotted to his corner, he loses not only the two cents profit which he makes on each paper he sells, but he also loses three cents which he must pay for each paper allotted to his corner, regardless of how many or how few of them he may dispose of; else he forfeits the right to sell on that corner.

The following table shows that the majority of boys engaged in selling have been working longer than one year while the majority of the carriers have been working less than one year:

<i>Length of Time in Work</i>	<i>Sellers</i>		<i>Carriers</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Longer than 2 years.....	44	41	4	11
One year to 2 years.....	31	29	11	31
Six months to 1 year.....	9	8	5	14
Less than 6 months.....	23	22	16	44

## EARNINGS

The boys engaged in distributing papers work two hours daily, receiving from 75 cents to \$4.00 a week with \$2.00 as the average weekly earnings. This means that they work 14 hours weekly at a rate of 15 cents an hour.

The demand for newspapers fluctuates as for any other commodity and may depend entirely upon the whims of the weather, the temperament of the passers-by, or the interest of the news contained in the paper, and the sellers' earnings fluctuate accordingly. If the sales go badly, at the close of the day a boy may have enough papers left on his hands to absorb his entire earnings or at least to reduce them materially. Usually a news-seller works seven days a week, averaging  $4\frac{1}{2}$  hours daily which makes  $31\frac{1}{2}$  working hours a week. Although one boy said he made \$20.00 a week, the average earnings of the 107 boys studied were \$6.50 a week or 93 cents daily.

A daily schedule of an average newsboy has been outlined as it was given and corroborated by a majority of the boys interviewed:

The boy rises, eats a hurried breakfast and makes off to school carrying a cold lunch, hastily prepared by an over-worked or careless mother (or maybe no lunch is carried and a light lunch is bought at school). When school lets out at 2 or 3 o'clock, he either rushes home to snatch another cold lunch if the store of left-overs from the home cupboard have not already been depleted by younger members of the family, and thence to the newspaper office, or if he lives some distance from the school he may go direct to the newspaper office. In either case, he usually arrives before the paper comes off the press and congregates with dozens of his colleagues in the alleys about the office or in the circulation room where there are frequent bouts, much scuffling and bedlam in general until the papers are ready. The hubbub is interspersed not infrequently with profane and indecent language. When he finally obtains his papers he rushes off to his corner to begin crying his wares at the top of his lungs, breaking the monotony of the process now and then by regaling himself with a hot dog or a coca cola. If business is dull on his



own corner he may venture to a neighboring corner to sell a paper. In case he is caught redhanded in the act of selling on a corner other than his own, he must buy a paper at the regular selling price from the boy whose corner he has usurped. If he feels perversely stubborn or defiant and refuses to do this, the result is a fist bout and probably an arbitration at the Boys' Club. When the papers are finally disposed of, to dissipate his earnings further he goes to a cheap moving picture to spend the remainder of the evening. Weary in body and mind, he finally goes home with his total earnings materially diminished by the expense of "hot dogs," coca colas, and picture shows.

What does the newsboy spend his money for? Is he developing habits of thrift and frugality which will be the basis for an independent and useful manhood? Or is he inculcating habits of waste which will later produce a free spender, living day by day by his wits?

The following table shows the disposal of the earnings of the the boys studied:

<i>Use of Earnings</i>	<i>Sellers</i>		<i>Carriers</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Spend all on self.....	32	30	31	86
Earn spending money only.....	8	7	20	44
Clothe themselves entirely.....	42	39	2	6
Clothe themselves partly.....	40	36	9	24
Contribute to family income.....	57	53	5	14
Have savings account.....	31	29	....	....

### SCHOOL RECORDS

The school record for each boy was examined. Assuming that they might not have started to school before eight years of age, the age when the compulsory school attendance law first applies, it was found that 19 per cent of the carriers and 35 per cent of the sellers were retarded. The grades for the current year made little better promise of promotion since the records showed that 19 per cent of both the carriers and the sellers had already fallen so low in their grades that failure was a certainty. Fourteen per cent of each class of boys were graded so low that they were likely to fail at the end of the year. Only eight weeks of the school term remained at the time the study was made, therefore it is fairly accurate to estimate that one-third of all the boys studied will repeat their



grades next year. Seventeen per cent of the carriers and 24 per cent of the sellers had failed to pass their grades last year. The fact that most of the boys who were failing this school year were those who had been engaged in street trades for the longest period of time, is of no little significance. While it was estimated that 67 per cent of all newsboys would be promoted, only 29 per cent of the total number studied were doing work which was graded good or excellent.

<i>Grade in School</i>	<i>Per Cent of Sellers</i>	<i>Per Cent of Carriers</i>
Retarded.....	37	7
Actually failing.....	20	7
Poor, likely to fail.....	15	5
Promotion uncertain.....	72	24
Grade good.....	24	13
Grade mediocre.....	48	11
Repeating grade.....	26	6

Upon questioning the teachers concerning the mentality and capabilities of each child, the teachers of 56 (or 38 per cent) stated that the boys were doing work lower than that of which they considered them capable. Most of these children were not preparing their home work and many were considered lazy and disinterested in school. Although few of the teachers were inclined to attribute disinterestedness and inactivity at school to outside interests of an engrossing nature and to fatigue caused by a lack of proper sleep and recreation rather than to a spirit of shiftlessness, the fact remains that these boys were spending all of their spare time on the streets, learning and seeing much that they could never associate with school activities and studies.

The attendance of the boys was 94 per cent good for the carriers and 92 per cent good for the sellers. There are two factors strongly entering into this rather remarkable attendance record. First, the compulsory attendance law is vigorously enforced in Birmingham, consequently the boy who remains out of school is soon followed up and returned. Second, the newsboys, especially the sellers, know that they cannot secure a badge unless they are able to present a school record which shows satisfactory attendance and that this badge may be revoked at any time the attendance record is unsatisfactory. The following table shows the status of conduct and of attendance:

<i>Conduct and Attendance</i>	<i>Sellers</i>		<i>Carriers</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Conduct poor.....	15	14	1	3
Conduct fair.....	27	25	11	31
Conduct good.....	65	61	24	66
Attendance poor.....	19	18	2	6
Attendance good.....	88	92	34	94

## FAMILY STATUS

No factor figures more in determining the character and future destiny of the coming generation than the home. Teachers complain that children are handicapped at school by bad home environment. Delinquency can be directly attributed to bad influence in the home or to a lack of influence in the home. Wherever the home falls short in its duty the child necessarily starts life handicapped. In Birmingham 34 per cent of the boys selling papers and 25 per cent of the carriers come from broken homes. The mothers of 23 per cent of the entire number studied were away from home at work. The fathers of 21 per cent had no work or worked irregularly. This means that about one-fourth of the boys were left much to their own resources from the time school let out until they returned home late at night. An estimate of good and bad environment of homes was based upon the neatness of the home, whether the mother worked away from home and whether the boys were free from discipline. The condition of the home can be best determined by the following table:

<i>Condition of Home</i>	<i>Sellers</i>		<i>Carriers</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Per Cent</i>
Parents living.....	82	77	30	83
Orphans or half-orphans.....	25	23	6	17
Parents separated.....	12	11	3	8
Home environment poor.....	61	57	6	17
Home environment good.....	46	43	30	83
Mother working away from home.....	30	28	7	19
Father working irregularly.....	31	29	5	14

The carrier usually comes from a well regulated home. He works in the section where he lives to make a small amount of spending money, therefore he represents an entirely different type from the seller, 53 per cent of whom must contribute to the family budget. This means that the sellers come from homes where the family



budget is insufficient to meet the actual needs of the family caused by death of a parent, lack of employment or bad management of ignorant and untrained parents. As a consequence the bad habits of these children run higher in per cent than those of boys engaged in carrying papers. The following table shows the number who were known to have harmful habits:

	<i>Sellers</i> per cent	<i>Carriers</i> per cent
Number of boys who smoke. . . . .	30	3
Number of boys who gamble. . . . .	11	1
Number of boys who play truant. . . . .	15	0
Number troublesome on street. . . . .	13	1
Number who use vulgar language. . . . .	27	3
Number who steal. . . . .	6	0
Number who stay out at night habitually. . . . .	30	0

Some of the boys from homes where the environment was especially poor were found to stay out all night frequently. These boys may sleep on the floors or tables of the circulation rooms, in nearby garages or any other sheltered place. Early one morning, a small newsboy was found crying. When asked the cause of his distress, he explained that his younger brother who also sold papers had failed to come home the night before and that he was searching for him. On another occasion, one of the sellers was found at 3 o'clock in the morning fast asleep under the table in one of the newspaper offices. While the study was being made, the older brother of another lad stopped one morning to ask if anything had been seen of his brother who had not come home from selling papers for two nights. Later, when the boy was found, it was learned that he was accustomed to stay out at night whenever he failed to make the amount of money which his father required him to bring home daily. In this way he hoped to escape the beating which the irate father promised. When a lad who had been selling papers for three years was asked where his father lived, he replied: "Which one?" He explained that his mother had been twice divorced and had married a third time—his father had married a second time, which gave the boy three fathers and two mothers, all of whom lived in Birmingham. It was the custom of the lad when he was not welcome or in bad repute with the one to take up his abode with whichever one of his other numerous parents who would give him shelter.



The above boys were the kind who were found to have juvenile court records and who had acquired habits of staying out at night and other such irregularities as tend toward delinquency.

#### RECREATIONAL ADVANTAGES

Fifty-seven per cent of the boys engaged in selling papers who usually live in the down town sections stated that they had no time or opportunity for recreation or play. Many of the remaining 43 per cent who did find time for play or recreation went to the Boys' Club for it. The Boys' Club is doing a splendid work with its organized athletics, hikes, baths and games, but it is impossible for the club or any other organization to be able to provide proper recreation for boys who must spend most of their time on the street. The boys engaged in distributing papers usually lived in the residence section of the city, therefore, only 28 per cent of these boys had no means or opportunity for recreation. Their working hours were shorter than those of the sellers and most frequently there were vacant lots in their neighborhood where they could play games. Too often it was found that amusement was substituted for recreation as is shown by the fact that 33 per cent of the carriers and 30 per cent of the sellers were accustomed to go to the moving picture shows as frequently as three times a week.

#### JUVENILE COURT RECORDS

The files of the Jefferson County Juvenile Court were searched for records of all charges filed against the boys who were engaged in selling or delivering newspapers. Twelve of the boys or a little more than eight per cent of the entire number had juvenile court records. These records do not include any of the newsboys who were at the time inmates of either the Parental School or the East Lake Industrial Training School. Nine of the 12 boys who had been arraigned before the court had been selling papers for a period of more than two years. Four of the boys had been before the court on three different charges, and two had been previously committed to the Alabama Boys' Industrial School. Three had been in the Parental School of the Jefferson County Juvenile Court.

The charges on which the boys had been arraigned before the

court are: (1) Petit larceny. (2) Petit larceny, fighting, cursing and truant. (3) Vulgar language and cursing. (4) Truant. (5) Cursing and fighting. (6) Incurable, ran away from home. (7) Neglected. (8) Fighting, cursing, delinquent, truant, shot sister in head. (9) Turned in false fire alarm, truant, ran away. (10). Cursing and fighting. (11) Milking a cow in neighbor's pasture (12) Cursing.

### CONCLUSION

The following conclusions are the result of the above study:

(1) It is significant that out of 143 boys between the ages of 10 and 16 years earning an aggregate amount of \$800 a month, only one-fourth are saving any money, and that a very small amount; earning money and the undirected spending of it becomes a means which may produce delinquency and habits of waste.

(2) Although the attendance officer and the public school system may be of the highest type and functioning toward the end that all children may be kept regularly in school, children cannot receive the full benefits of the institution unless they have proper home environment and well directed after-school activities which are not of such a strenuous nature as to overtax the strength of the growing child or to deprive him of necessary sleep and proper food.

(3) The birthright of every child is the right to have the care and protection of parents. If by death or other misfortune, the child is deprived of this guardianship, it is the responsibility of the state to make adequate provision for him to prevent further misfortune. Furthermore, children from broken or unfortunate homes should not be deprived of an equal chance, along with their more fortunate brothers, for the education and training which will make them economically independent upon reaching manhood. To assure this protection the state will have to assume responsibility for suitable laws providing for the support and protection of widows and orphans.

(4) More wholesome and more wisely directed means of recreation must be provided for children. Of the two evils to choose between—all work or total idleness, total idleness would probably be the more pernicious. However, it is an indisputable fact that youth was never intended as a time for labor but a time for development preparatory for work. Development cannot be attained through

idleness. Wholesome recreation and play are nature's instinctive means for development. Cities in their rapid growth have failed to take into consideration that they must be made habitats for children as well as for grown-ups. Playgrounds, ball parks, swimming pools and other well directed facilities for recreation are just as essential for the health and welfare of the city as the water system or the street cleaning department. Recreational facilities where children are protected from unhealthy wisdom and suggestions beyond their normal comprehension and where their activities are directed along lines of health and normal development, are preventive measures against immorality and crime which often result from misdirected energy in early childhood. Save the child if you would save the state.

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#### FEATHERS

"Jennie is my lovely Child of Promise," smiled an eighth grade teacher. "She will be such a credit to us when she goes to high School. She has a beautiful mind."

"Mother, I just can't believe that I'm really graduating. We visited the high school today, and it's the most marvelous place—. What's the matter, mother? Don't you want me to go?"

Father lifted his bowed head from the "books" of the tiny fruit store. "She can't make up her mind to tell you, Jennie. We can't see our way to get along any more without your help."

"Teacher, Jennie asked me to tell you you should give her graduation tickets to some other girl. She's got a job, where her girl friend works. Yes, ma'am, steaming feathers. No, she can't come to see you. She starts work at half-past seven and don't get home till after five."

—*The White-Williams Foundation, Nov., 1921.*

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The cultivation of the soil is an exacting occupation; the seasons and the harvest sunsets will not wait for men; children can be utilized at an early age and so the cultivator class is generally a poorly educated, close-toiling class, superstitious by reason of ignorance and the uncertainty of the seasons, ill-informed and easily put upon. It is capable at times of great passive resistance, but it has no purpose in its round but crops and crops, to keep out of debt and hoard against bad times. So it has remained to our own days over the greater part of Europe and Asia.

—*Excerpt from "The Outline of History," by H. G. Wells, p. 264.*



# THE MILWAUKEE PERMIT SYSTEM\*

GEORGE P. BARTH, B.Sc., M.D.

When is it safe to permit a child to leave school and enter the industrial field? By safe we mean without injury to himself and thus ultimately to society as a whole.

The requirements, at present in most states, the fulfillment of which is demanded of children before a working certificate or permit is issued, are usually four in number:

1. An age requirement.
2. A schooling certificate.
3. A definite promise of employment.
4. That he be physically able to do the work for which the permit is requested.

## I. Age Requirement

In all but three states (Mississippi, New Mexico and Wyoming) the employment in industry of children under 14 has been prohibited. The age of 14 was probably fixed upon because of the universal opinion that at 14 a child is mature. This is not borne out by fact, however, as it is well-established that children in general, and especially girls, mature at an earlier age in warm climates than they do in colder regions and that even in the same region, the age at which girls and boys reach sexual maturity varies to a considerable degree.

To fix an arbitrary age at which all children may make so radical a change in environment and activities as is entailed in a change from school to industry is not in accord with the intent of child labor laws to safeguard the child, even though the additional statement "and physically able to perform the work intended" is usually added. It were better if this read "and physically able to 'safely' perform the work intended." If an age limit is necessary, 16 is far preferable to 14.

The fact that a child has reached a certain stature or a certain

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\* Read before the National League of Compulsory Attendance Officers at Detroit, November 12, 1921.

weight or even that it has attained a certain weight-height index is no criterion that that child has reached a stage in its growth which will enable it to endure successfully the strain of continuous, monotonous toil without injury. The weight-height index is of value, for it does show a physical proportion which the child body should have at a given age, but the further qualifications that the child be post-pubescent should be added.

The structural, physiological and psychological changes occurring at puberty are radical in both boys and girls and the child should be more zealously guarded at this time than at almost any other period, because this stage will determine the perfectness of the future adult. Usually permit children are employed at some simple task at which a definite posture and action is assumed which in time becomes a fixed habit, and in the performance of which certain muscles or muscle groups only are used to the exclusion of others. Nature abhors an unused organ as she abhors a vacuum and the result is that the unused organs undergo a decadence by disuse. Thus, we have an unsymmetrical development which, if continued, may and does result in deformities involving the whole body. A study was made of the menstrual history of 2,841 girls from 14 to 17 years of age working in Milwaukee. Of 2,808 girls 14 to 17 years answering the question as to the age at which the first period occurred

40 or 1.44 per cent stated at 11 years						
244	„	8.07	„	„	„	12
682	„	24.58	„	„	„	13
1,154	„	41.60	„	„	„	14
520	„	18.74	„	„	„	15
154	„	5.55	„	„	„	16
34 had none at sixteen years.						

This study is not complete and probably conclusions ought not to be drawn until it has been contrasted with a similar study of girls in the same locality but not working. Yet, contrasted with a similar study of 974 girls attending gymnastic classes in Baltimore, certain factors are significant and indicate lines for further investigations.

- (1) In the girls working, about one per cent were more regular than in the Baltimore girls.

- (2) Menstruation was painless in 16.6 per cent fewer working girls than in the Baltimore series.
- (3) The normal regularity of four weeks in working girls was four per cent less than in non-working girls.
- (4) The periods of those in whom the interval was greater or less than four weeks (136 girls) were more frequent (less than four weeks) in 58 per cent of working girls and greater (more than four weeks) in 42 per cent. Possibly the fact that pain was experienced by 16.6 per cent more working girls than non-working girls is due to a greater congestion produced in the pelvic organs by a position long maintained in the working girl. This raises the question as to the production of future pathological conditions.

## II. Schooling Certificate

The usual provisions that the child shall have completed a certain grade or that it shall have attended school a certain number of years as one of the requisites in determining fitness to go to work is good as far as it goes. Every child is entitled to a certain amount of schooling at least.

It is generally agreed that one of the very frequent reasons why children quit school is because of a mal-adjustment between the child and the school. To expect all children to react alike toward a set curriculum when it is an acknowledged fact that mental ability among children varies greatly is very faulty in the light of modern research. It appears more reasonable that school curricula be made so elastic that a child may be given a combination of studies that will fit his abilities and desires and that this differentiation take place early. In other words "fit the school to the child and not the child to the school" should be a universal slogan.

If the school can prove to the parent that it is offering the child a course which will enhance his earning power, the cupidity of the parent, if nothing else, will cause him to enforce further attendance upon the child. Conversely, if the school can hold the interest of the child, he will resist any attempt to make him quit school.

The child should be judged by work accomplished rather than the completion of a set grade. Intelligence tests (Binet-Simon and its various modifications) and group and school tests (Courtiss tests



and others) are now reaching a stage of development when they can be of real service in grading children.

Whether an intelligence quotient determination will help in determining the degree and kind of mentality necessary for success in each leading occupation remains to be seen. That it may help in curtailing the enormous waste both in time and money to the employer and the employee which now results in the haphazard method of hiring a child to do a certain kind of work and then by the crude experiment of trying him out, determining whether he is fit for the job, seems a reasonable expectation. The haphazard method is no doubt responsible for the frequency with which children change their jobs. In a study of 3,106 boys and 3,282 girls made in Milwaukee, it was found that boys change jobs on an average of every four and a half months and girls every five and a half months.

### III. Health Requirements

Health supervision in Milwaukee extends over all schools—public, parochial, private, high schools, trade schools, continuation schools. Thus every child is under the jurisdiction of this department from the time it enters school until it reaches the age of 17.

Because of the danger in arbitrarily refusing a permit, that treatment is not secured but the child stays at home or drifts into illegal employment, Milwaukee is issuing permits with strings attached. This system of modified permits is made possible by the complete understanding and the mutual cooperation which exists between the permit issuing office (The State Industrial Commission) and the Health Supervision Department. Permits are issued as follows:

1. Unreserved permits.
2. Permits with reservations:
  - (a) Provisional permits;
  - (b) Permits limited as to jobs;
  - (c) Temporary refusals;
  - (d) Permanent refusals.

The nature of the child's defect and the time allowed for correction are attached in letter form to the permit which is mailed to the employer. Chronological and alphabetical follow-up files are

maintained and a month before the given date a warning postal is sent to the child reminding it that a reexamination is almost due and that treatment, if not already begun, must begin at once. At the time appointed for reexamination a postal notice to appear for reexamination is sent either directly to the child or to the employer.

The child, after reexamination, is given an O.K., is granted an extension of time, is asked to consult a doctor and report back at once submitting a written statement from the doctor before being given an extension, or has his permit recalled until he can satisfy the doctor acting for the Commission.

Only 19 states provide that although a child may be of the minimum age and have passed the educational test, he cannot go to work until he has had a physical examination by a public-health or public-school physician, and has been found to be of normal development for a child of his age and physically fit for the work at which he is to be employed. Undoubtedly many other states will join their ranks in the near future for with the spread of health supervision of school children will naturally come the extension of supervision for the child about to quit school and enter the school of life, the hardest school of all.

The examining physician in making his recommendations to the permit issuing office has several factors to consider:

- (1) Is the child of a physical development equivalent to the development normal to his calendar age?
- (2) Is he free from correctible defects?
- (3) Is the kind of work which the child wishes to do compatible with his physical condition?
- (4) What is the psychology of the child?

Nothing can be more fundamentally wrong than to place an arbitrary age at which children may be relieved from supervision exercised during a school career, and permitted to enter an unknown environment free from restraint and exposed to many untoward influences without having reached a physiological and anatomical development which will resist unfavorable external and environmental conditions. In other words, a permit should be issued on physiological age basis rather than on a calendar age basis.

Milwaukee is trying out the following system. The child presents himself to the school doctor either at the school which he

is attending or at the Continuation School. Preferably the physical examination is given before the child receives his schooling certificate so that his case may be considered jointly by the principal of the school and the school doctor, both of whom may have known this child since he entered the school and consequently are the best judges in the question of granting him a permit. The doctor then determines which kind of a permit the child is to have:

*An Unreserved Permit* is recommended for the child if he measures up fully to the standard set for education and physical condition.

*A Provisional Permit* is given under the following circumstances:

- (a) The child has a correctible physical defect but the parents are too poor to provide correction and the child must depend on its own earnings to obtain the proper care. A definite time limit is set within which correction of the defect must be secured.
- (b) The doctor wishes a reexamination of the child at regular intervals for some physical condition, such as: underweight or undernourishment, heart lesion, goitre, nervous condition, or chest conditions.

*Permit Limited as to Jobs.* This permit is issued to a child not physically perfect and without correctible defect, such as: compensated heart lesions, serious eye defects not correctible by glasses, defective hearing, epilepsy, etc.

*A permit is temporarily refused* when the financial circumstances are such that the parent can pay for treatment or the parent, having been able to secure treatment recommended during the child's attendance at school, has refused to do so; also pending the finding of a job suitable to the child.

*A permit is permanently refused* when the doctor thinks the child unfit to go to work; for instance when the child is immature, of low mentality, or physically disabled for work.

*Provisional Time Extended.* It happens at times that the dentist or the doctor cannot complete the correction in the time specified. It is not often the case that a second or third extension is necessary.

*Suspension of Permit.* Permits are suspended when a tendency is shown on the part of the child to be neglectful in keeping dental



or medical appointments. The child *may not work* during the period of suspension.

A permit is revoked when reexamination shows that the work which the child is doing is not suitable as evidenced by losing weight, decompensation of heart, or untoward influences on any other physical ailment which the child may have. Under these circumstances the child is forbidden to work until complete recovery and then a new job is obtained for the child more commensurate with its physical or mental powers.

This method of handling permits has been on trial for a little over a year and the results are proving to be highly satisfactory.

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"Just why the newsboy, bootblack and peddler should have been ignored in the general movement for child welfare is hard to understand. Perhaps it is due to 'the illusion of the near.' Street workers have always been far more conspicuous than any other child laborers, and it seems that this very proximity has been their misfortune. If we could have focused our attention upon them as we did upon children in factories, they would have been banished from the streets long ago. But they were too close to us. We could not get a comprehensive view and saw only what we happened to want at the moment—their paltry little stock in trade. Now that we are getting a broader sense of social responsibility, we are beginning to realize how blind and inconsiderate we have been in our treatment of them."

—*Child Labor in City Streets*, Edward N. Clopper.

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Hitherto we have more or less unconsciously employed the sliding scale in relation to child labor standards. We put prohibition of night work in one state, which had an extremely low all-round standard, on very much the same plane of achievement as establishing an eight instead of a ten-hour day in another state which had relatively high standards. That is, it has been natural to work with almost equal enthusiasm for high standards in states where the demand for them was strong, and for much lower standards where the demand was less or where it was lacking. Then when those standards were established we worked for still higher ones. We used the sliding scale in accordance with the age-old theory of demand and supply. This theory in economics is fallacious. It is time to consider solely the individual, for what is right for the individual is right for industry and society and the world at large.—*Owen R. Lovejoy*.

# TRADE UNION ACTIVITY FOR CHILD PROTECTION

WALTER W. ARMENTROUT

Trade unions have at various times endorsed resolutions which place them on record as strongly opposed to child labor. They have been active in legislative campaigns, seeking the enactment of laws to make the employment of children illegal and much has been accomplished by this method. Our laws are not yet perfect. In many cases the standards are too low, and many working children are not touched by the provisions of these laws, but if childhood was as well protected as the letter of the law would indicate we would have a different childhood in this country.

Can the trade unions do, and are they doing, anything toward preventing child labor, outside of this legislative effort? The great majority of child laborers are children of working people. The question then is—Are the workers doing anything on their own account to protect their children from the evils of child labor? Aside from the education of public opinion, the National Child Labor Committee has seen fit to direct its efforts chiefly towards legislation and securing better administration and enforcement of existing laws. This does not mean, however, that this is the only way in which children can be protected, and vague reports of work being done by trade unions prompted this preliminary study.

The information was secured chiefly through interviews with the officials of a number of the best organized unions which have national headquarters in New York City, and with officials of some of the Locals. There was not sufficient time to make a shop to shop study and, as the results of the study indicate, it was hardly necessary. Officials in the following unions were interviewed:

Typographical Union  
Builders' Guild  
Amalgamated Clothing Union  
United Hatters

Amalgamated Textile Workers of America  
International Ladies' Garment Workers Union  
Amalgamated Ladies' Garment Cutters  
Amalgamated Lithographers of America  
Amalgamated Tobacco Workers  
Bakers' Union

In order to understand the position of young workers in the organized trades today, it is necessary to recall the present status of an apprentice as compared with his former status. Before our present machine era, with its accompanying revolution of industry, practically all work was done by hand. The amount and quality of work accomplished depended on the skill of the worker. There was no great division of labor. It was necessary that a successful worker know his craft or trade from beginning to end. To do this required a considerable period of training, during which his work was not profitable. To learn the trade then, a young person was bound-out for several years to a master in the trade he wished to learn. This period was longer than was necessary for the boy to learn the trade, but in his first years he was an expense to the master and his apprenticeship period was prolonged so that he might pay in service for the training he had received. It is not our purpose to discuss the merits of this system; it had its good and its bad points. We wish merely to recall how in the past a young worker learned a trade. After he had finished this period of indenture, or apprenticeship, he was ready, if he had had a good master and was adept, to follow his trade anywhere. He was a master of all its details. He could do work which no one else could do without a similar period of training. His skill was something that a man could not "pick up."

With the coming of machinery there has been a great change in the industrial world. Skill has been replaced by mechanical operations. In the great majority of industrial processes, a worker needs only a short period of training to learn to handle a machine, then he is as efficient as a worker who has spent a much longer time in the factory or shop. There is great division of labor, each worker contributing his little share to the whole. He can change rather easily from one factory to another; in fact he has no trade, but is merely a machine operator. There are still some trades that have



not been reduced to mechanical operations but the workers they employ are comparatively few. Our old apprentice system has been destroyed by this coming of machinery and today "the term apprentice applies to a youth, generally over 16 years of age, who is a beginner or learner in a particular trade. He is not bound-out in any way but the privilege of his holding a card as a registered apprentice in the organized trades is generally dependent upon his regular attendance upon the apprentice school or course or his work in a shop for a period of four or five years."

It is not necessarily true that there are fewer young people in the trades but the number of apprentices, according to the above definition of the term, is comparatively small. For reasons which the trade unions consider justifiable, the number of apprentices is very definitely limited. Not only is the number limited, but there has been fixed a definite age at which a young worker can enter as an apprentice. In the United States as a whole, this age ranges from 16 to 18 and compares quite favorably with provisions of state child labor laws which usually have an age minimum of only 14. Where unions have complete control of shops or other industrial units, their rules of apprenticeship forbid the employment of children. Their power to prevent child labor in this way is limited of course to the extent of their control of the employment of workers in an industry. A few of the best organized unions, mentioned later, are doing very effective work in this respect and practically no children are found working in these industries or trades.

It is doubtful if these rigid apprentice regulations are really very effective in preventing child labor as a whole, and it may be that such restrictions are harmful rather than beneficial to the cause of the working child. Despite all our laws and theories, and without going into the cause, the fact remains that yearly there are great numbers of children going to work. Since the well-organized unions have so definitely limited their number of apprentices, these young workers of necessity must be entering the "unprotected trades," such as department stores, small shops and factories, street trades, delivery service, and the various niches and corners untouched by provisions of law. If the unions have accomplished any one thing, it is to secure for their members better hours and working conditions. The young workers for the most part are children of workers, yet these workers by forcing their children out

of their trades are denying them the protection which they demand for themselves. This is not meant as a criticism of the apprentice restrictions, but until there is more adequate protection for the young worker in all industries, or until their employment under 16 is prohibited, the present apprentice system does not appear to be an influence for the good of the class *as a whole*.

One of the evils of child labor lies in the fact that children are cut loose from all directed educational and welfare work. They drift as instinct and circumstances carry them. Their time out of the shop is spent following the crowd. They do those things for the improvement of their mind and body which *happen* to come to their attention, or they do nothing.

So far as our study went, there were only two unions that were doing any educational and welfare work for the few apprentices in their trades—the Typographical Union and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

The Typographical Union is perhaps the best organized union of all and comes nearer controlling the labor in its trade than does any other. It has a definite apprentice system and is a trade that lends itself especially well to the training of apprentices, for it is a trade that cannot be "picked up" at once and requires much more than mere ability to perform the mechanical work involved. In teaching a boy the trade, there is an exceptional opportunity to give, in addition, some general education which is just as essential in making a good printer as his knowledge of and ability to do the technical work. The Typographical Union has established a unique school in New York City for the training of its apprentices in that city. The constitution of the school provides in part the following:

"This Organization shall be known as the School for Printers' Apprentices of New York. Its object shall be to conduct a school for instructing the registered apprentices in the various branches of the printing trade in New York City. The management of the school shall be vested in a joint board composed of four representatives of the Printers' League Section of the New York Employing Printers' Association, Inc., four representatives of Typographical Union No. 6, and four representatives of the Hudson Guild. As other branches of the trade are added, such as press work, etc., representatives of these unions shall be added to the Directorate in such



manner as the Board of Directors shall determine, but there shall be at all times an equal number of representatives of both employers and employees. The Board of Directors shall carefully supervise the affairs of the school, with a view to securing the best possible training for the Printers' apprentices of New York City. It shall be their aim through courses of instruction in Elementary English, Mathematics and other subjects to give the elements of a good general education and also through courses of instruction, drawing and hand composition, to which may be added press work, bindery work, etc., to afford all registered apprentices of New York City an opportunity to acquire a thorough knowledge of the printing trade. . . . The expenses of conducting the school shall be met in such ways as the Board of Directors may deem suitable. . . ."

The rules of the Directors provide in part the following:

"The control of the school shall be by a Board of Directors, twelve in number, four of whom shall be appointed by and come from the Hudson Guild; four of whom shall come from and be appointed by the Printers' League Section of the New York Employing Printers' Association, Inc.; and four who shall come from and be appointed by Typographical Union No. 6. . . . Pupils at the School shall pay the following tuition fees; the same may be paid in eight monthly instalments, beginning with the first month of the school year for each pupil:

2nd year apprentices.....	\$10.00 per year
3rd year apprentices.....	12.50 " "
4th year apprentices.....	15.00 " "
5th year apprentices.....	20.00 " "

"All moneys received from tuition fees from apprentices shall be placed in the general school fund to be devoted to school purposes and not regarded as part of the contribution of either the Printers' League Section of the New York Employing Printers' Association or Typographical Union No. 6. All employers under the contract between the Printers' League Section of the New York Employing Printers' Association and Typographical Union No. 6 are required to send all registered apprentices to the school. All employers having apprentices shall pay into the school fund the sum of \$25 per year per apprentice. . . . No apprentice may continue at work who does not attend the school or who is in default of his tuition fee.



No apprentice shall be allowed to continue at work in an office unless his employer has paid the employers' fee. Apprentices shall attend the school from the beginning of the second year of their apprenticeship to its end. It shall be the duty of the chairman to notify the foreman when an apprentice is entitled to pass from one of the above periods to another. If the foreman and chairman cannot mutually agree to the apprentices' qualifications to be advanced into the next period, the matter shall be referred to the Joint Apprenticeship Committee, whose duty it shall be to inquire into the qualifications of said apprentice to ascertain if he meets the necessary requirements called for in the several classes of work specified for each year of his apprenticeship, after which the Committee shall report its findings to the foreman and the chairman which shall in all cases be binding and final."

The employers give the apprentice the time to attend school from 3:00 o'clock to 5:00 o'clock one afternoon each week and the apprentice must attend one evening session each week from 6:00 o'clock to 8:00 o'clock on his own time. Only two absences per year without a legitimate excuse are permitted. If a boy becomes truant his case is handled by the proper union authorities. He may be only severely reprimanded, or the time of his apprenticeship extended or his card entirely revoked. On the other hand a boy doing excellent work may shorten his apprentice period by six months. Attendance upon this school is substituted for attendance upon a continuation school, and the curriculum more than meets the requirements of the continuation school.

There are 530 boys in the school this year and the director claims that the attendance is 100 per cent. Part of the school work is strictly technical, relating to the mechanical part of the trade. In addition to this are quite thorough courses in English, Composition, Spelling, History, Mathematics, etc. The pupils are divided into classes of 50 each. Each class is organized, having a chairman and secretary, and is as near self-governing as is possible. The chairman of these various classes comprise the student council, which governs the student body and plans and executes recreational activities of which there are several. During the past year some time was devoted to health instruction under the auspices of the Anti-Tuberculosis Association. There is an effort now being made to have periodical medical examinations of all classes. Unprotected

child labor injures the health of children, but periodical medical examinations and health instruction has not yet been secured for the working child through legislation.

The Union insists that its apprentices learn the whole trade in so far as they have ability, and will not permit the employer to keep an apprentice on the same job for a long period of time. This keeps the boy from being placed and kept in a "blind alley" job. If a shop is not sufficiently equipped to give general work so that an apprentice is able to learn the whole trade, such a shop is not permitted to have an apprentice working in it. No children under sixteen years of age, whether they be apprentices or not, are permitted to work in shops controlled by the Union.

The National Typographical Union requires that all their apprentices not having the advantage of attendance upon this school shall take a correspondence course prepared and directed by the Union.

It is very difficult for a boy to enter this trade as an apprentice because of the limited number permitted and the comparatively rigid requirements for admission. A boy applying for apprenticeship is examined by an apprenticeship committee composed of union men and employers. He must be at least 16 years of age, pass an examination which requires as much as a common school education and pass a physical examination. The apprentice agreement is then signed by the proper representative of the Typographical Union, by the representative of the Employing Printers' Association and by the boy himself. This agreement is binding on all parties for five years.

This is probably the most outstanding example of what unions are doing to promote the welfare of their young workers.

The International Ladies Garment Workers Union has no well-marked apprentice system. They will not, however, admit a worker to the union who is under sixteen years of age and their working agreement with the employers provides that no child under sixteen years of age shall be employed in the shop. They have also established a minimum wage standard which makes it unprofitable for an employer to use child labor. The union attempts no educational work designed especially for its young members but they may take the general educational work which is carried on by the union under the direction of an educational committee. It is



under immediate supervision of an Educational Director, who is an educator, and a secretary who is familiar with the viewpoint and in sympathy with the aims of the workers.

The educational work is divided into three kinds of activities the Unity Centers, the Workers' University and the Extension Division.

**Unity Centers**—The seven Unity Centers are in public school buildings in different parts of the city where the members reside. In each Unity Center there are classes in English of elementary, intermediate, advanced, and high school grade. The teachers are assigned by the Evening School Department of the Board of Education. The International also arranges series of courses carried on independently which consist of the following subjects: History of the Labor Movement today; American and European Trade Unionism, Applied Economics, Applied Psychology, History of Civilization, Literature, Understanding of Music, etc. The members meet at these Unity Centers from four to five nights each week. One evening a week is devoted to lectures on health topics. The registration for the last year was 2,000.

**Workers' University**—The more advanced educational activities are concentrated in the Workers' University, which meets Saturday afternoons and Sunday mornings in the Washington Irving High School. The courses given in 1920-21 were: Trade Union Policies, Labor Problems, Current Economic Opinion, Economic Geography, Applied Psychology and Logic, Sociology, Literature, History of Civilization, The Role of the State in Modern Civilization, Recent Developments and Events in the Labor Movement, Study of the Cooperative Movement, Problems of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Public Speaking, etc. Three hundred were enrolled in the University last year.

**Extension Division**—The extension Division is trying to reach a large number of the membership. Its work consists in arranging special lectures, concerts and other entertainments to which all the members are invited.

The members are in no way compelled to take this educational work but it gives the young workers as well as the older ones an opportunity for further education and training if they care to avail themselves of it.

There is no effort made to give technical training in these



schools for this they get through their work at the shops. Although they are not trained or instructed as apprentices in the shops, they begin with the simpler work and pass on to the more difficult tasks as they become accustomed to shop conditions, working all the time however as regular employees. The use of machinery has reduced most of the work in this trade to mere mechanical operations; a worker does not need to attain a great deal of skill and this work therefore does not lend itself as well to a period of apprenticeship training as does the printing trade.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers' Union does not have a general apprenticeship clause in its constitution. There are, however, a few apprentices in the cutting and trimming rooms, who must be sixteen years of age before entering and who serve an apprenticeship period of four years. They are on a graduated wage scale and in their third year of apprenticeship are paid journeyman's wages in proportion to the amount amount of journeyman's work they can do. No work, however, is being carried on for the welfare of the apprentices and young workers and there are no educational or physical standards for admission.

No person under sixteen years of age is admitted to the Union. The minimum wage agreement is the only tangible thing in the Union operating to prevent child labor in this industry. While this agreement was not made with a view to keeping children out of industry it has proved to be rather effective in accomplishing this. It makes it unprofitable for an employer to hire child labor when he can get steady adult labor for the same wages, or may be better said, it makes it unprofitable for an employer to pay a child an adult's wage. This minimum wage varies slightly in different markets. In Chicago and Rochester markets it is \$15 per week.

This Union has considerable control over the industry. There are three classes of shops more or less under its control:

1. The Union or closed shop in which all workers must be members of the Union and receive union pay.

2. Preferential shops—in which the Union is called upon to furnish workers from its membership, but if it cannot supply them in 48 hours the employer may hire his help in the open market, but must pay at least the union minimum wage. If work becomes slack and not so much help is needed the non-union workers must be the first to be dropped from the pay roll.

3. The open shop in which the employer may hire whom he pleases but must pay at least the union minimum wage.

This makes the minimum wage the most effective instrument in the hands of this union to keep children out of the industry.

United Textile Workers of America. This union has no definite apprentice system but stands for the enforcement of the child labor laws. The president of the union reports that frequently there are children working in mills in violation of state laws who for some reason are not discovered by the factory inspector. The workers themselves and often the local union cannot report these cases, however, because the worker would at once lose his job and the union would be put at a point of disadvantage in dealing with the employer. To avoid this the local unions and workers are encouraged to report such cases of law violation to International Headquarters. The president then informs the proper local authorities and the case is handled according to legal provisions. Many cases have been handled in this way.

There are 500 local unions in Canada and the South—most of them in the latter, with instructions to keep a lookout for violations of child labor laws and to report violations to International Headquarters.

The president of this union claims that the employer does not want to hire labor under 16 years of age for this necessitates stopping machines at the end of an eight-hour day or putting on a new shift.

The United Hatters permit no one to work in union shops who is under 18 years of age.

Amalgamated Lithographers of America. The rules of this union do not prohibit child labor in union shops. They feel that it is the duty of the state to enforce the labor laws. A boy may be apprenticed at the age of 16 but as a general rule the apprentices are much older, the work being of such a nature that mature workers are required.

Amalgamated Tobacco Workers. This union has no apprentices and very few people are learning the trade at this time. They depend on immigration for recruits. The secretary intimated that there was quite a bit of child labor in certain shops where the union had no foothold and could do nothing toward preventing it.

The Builders' Guild is taking no steps toward prohibiting child labor.



The Bakers' Union formerly had a clause in their working agreements prohibiting the employment of children under 18 years of age in bakeshops. On the advice of their attorney this clause has been left out of the agreement for the past few years and they depend on state and federal enforcement of the child labor laws.

Some of the unions are carrying on a limited amount of educational activity among their workers which, through informing the parents, has possibilities of doing much towards stopping child labor. Under the present legal restrictions and complications in most cases it is not profitable for an employer to hire child labor under the legal working age. Most child labor at present is due either to the greed of the parents or, more often, to their ignorance of the evils attending child labor. Most children work because their parents want them to work and many times the parents falsify about the age of the child so that he can get a job. Since the majority of working children come from the homes of working parents a great deal could be done if this matter were kept before their minds. There are two methods of approach: the first from a humanitarian viewpoint—teaching the evil effects of child labor; the second, a selfish viewpoint but equally effective—showing the parents that child labor lowers wages and increases unemployment for adult workers.

To sum up this work of the trade unions for child protection, at present they seem to have five points of attack: (1) limiting number of apprentices and maintaining a high age for beginning apprenticeship, (2) minimum wage agreements, (3) working agreements, (4) reporting law violations, (5) education of the workers.

As pointed out before it might be well for the unions to consider whether they are driving their children into unprotected trades by limiting the number of apprentices, and if so along what line the remedy lies.

With the exception of educational work the power of the unions to prohibit child labor depends directly upon their ability to control their trades. If strong they can do much; if weak, they can accomplish little.

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The true child welfare standard must always be to develop each child to the level of his potential capacity.—*Henry W. Thurston, before the Vermont Children's Aid Society.*



# A RURAL SLUM COMMUNITY

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CHARLES E. GIBBONS

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Rural communities are no more alike than urban communities. In the open country, wealth is unevenly distributed just as it is in urban centers. Some communities are more prosperous than others. Natural advantages, such as location, fertility of the soil, drainage, rainfall and other climatic conditions, all have their effect on creating wealth. So we find communities ranging in varying degrees from those dominated by the influence of the great landed estates, or plantations on the rich, fertile, bottom lands, to those in which the farms are small and made up of poor knob lands. Ownership and tenancy both have their influence. In some communities they have a normal relationship; but in others all the farms are operated by owners and in still others none but tenants are found. The educational training and equipment of farmers vary greatly, and communities range from those in which the farms are operated by well-trained men, many of them graduates of agricultural colleges, to those in which the land is cultivated by untrained, illiterate farm people. There is likewise a variation in the type and characteristics of the people. In some communities they are ambitious, operate their farms on a business-like basis, anxious for and willing to pay the price for all kinds of public improvements, interested in having their homes comfortable and attractive and the surroundings beautiful, and in general in the making of the country a wholesome place in which to live. But in other communities the people are lazy, shiftless, unaggressive, indifferent to the comforts and conveniences of their homes, negligent of the welfare of their children, opposed to public improvements, superstitious, and satisfied to follow the lines of least resistance.

All of these factors have an influence on life in the country as a whole. Not all of these influences are found working in every community at any given time but on the other hand there is no community in which more than one does not exist. It is the com-

bination of these influences either good or bad, or both good and bad, that makes the standard of the community what it is. The majority of communities have both types. It probably cannot be said truthfully that there is any community in which all the influences are wholly bad, but occasionally one does run across a community in which it is difficult to find traces of much that is having beneficial effects.

In a recent address before the National Country Life Association, Mr. C. J. Galpin, of the United States Department of Agriculture, speaking on "The Non-Group Parts of Farm Populations," gave the following as the first of the non-group sections: "Negligible folk, so called or at least so thought—somewhat negative farm families on poor land maybe—are found in strips, spots, areas, lying between, around, or even within coherent farm population groups. These strips of ineffectual people are pathological often, and fail of assimilation into positive group life." It is the conditions under which this "ineffectual group of people" live and the influences that touch it, which I want to discuss.

For various reasons the location of the community will not be given other than to say that it is in a middle western state. A total of 59 families were visited and about ten days spent living in the community and gathering on schedules the information secured directly from the families. The community is located on the right bank of a river, five miles from the trading center and the county seat. The only means of crossing the river is a ferry which is often, especially in the winter time, out of commission. The roads up to the river are poor and at times almost impassable. These families live contiguous to one another and a mission church and school is the center of the community, geographically as well as from the standpoint of what little community interests the people have.

Almost from the water's edge the land rises quite abruptly. It is rough, steep, rocky, cut with many gullies and much of it covered with scraggy growths of timber. The land on the whole is quite unfertile although there are spots here and there that produce fairly good crops. Of the 59 families, 47 own their own farms which average 21 acres in size. Four families own 360, 142, 93 and 80 acres each. Subtracting these amounts from the total, the average for the remainder is only 7.3 acres.

Eighty-six per cent of the land was bought and only 14 per

cent was inherited. The average period of ownership by purchase is 12.1 years and by inheritance 13.5 years. Thirty-eight of 47 families came into possession of their land by purchase only, two by inheritance only, and seven inherited a part and bought a part. While all of them have possession of the land, yet the majority of them do not actually own it because of mortgages. These they are paying off under some sort of building and loan plan. They, themselves, are not clear as to what the plan is, how it works or how much interest they are paying. They only know they have so much to pay a week for so many years—usually a long period of time. Their ambition is to pay as little as they can. A mortgage seems to have no disadvantages and ownership no charms.

This group can hardly be called "farm families." Only 20 of the 59 raised corn, averaging 8.3 acres per family. This yielded on the average 21 bushels to the acre. Three families had out 29 acres of wheat, yielding a total of 308 bushels. Three families had 13.5 acres of rye with a total yield of 169 bushels. One family had three acres of oats for feed; only six families cut any hay. Nine of the families raised no potatoes and the average for those who did raise them was less than 30 bushels per family. Thirty-six had no apples and 53 no peaches. By working this out for all families in the community, rather than for those who actually raised the crops, we find there is grown in the community an average per family of 2.8 acres of corn, one half acre of wheat, less than one fourth acre of rye, about one-third acre of hay, 25 bushels of potatoes, 12 bushels of apples and less than two bushels of peaches.

With regard to live stock, the figures are equally convincing that these are not farm families. Twenty-three had no horses and the average for the remainder is 1.5. Thirty-two had no milch cows and the average for the remainder is less than 1.4 per family. Of "other cattle," 48 had none and the 11 remaining had only 18 head. None of them had any sheep. Sixteen had no hogs and the average for the remainder is 5.5. Ten families have no chickens and the flocks of those who did averaged less than 32. Practically no geese, ducks or turkeys are raised.

Aside from the little farming they do, the majority of the men in these families spend the greater part of their working time in the quarries. A few work about a steam plant connected with a near-by dam. So far as I was able to learn, there is plenty of work,



especially in the quarries; but the men work only a few days at a time and then lay off for a few days. Some of them cut firewood, posts and bean poles and haul them across the river to the county seat. Some gather roots and herbs, and pick berries and carry them to the trading center. Others fish and sell their products to regular customers in the nearby town. At the holiday season some gather holly, make Christmas wreaths and peddle them out. In fact there is a great variety of jobs—jobs which do not provide a steady, regular, daily income, but are intermittent. The men do not want to work every day but purposely follow those kinds of work that will allow them to lay off whenever they want to.

An attempt was made to learn the annual family income. The information was classified under two headings—net farm income and supplementary income, the sum of which makes the net income.

The net farm income is the amount of money left from the sale of all crops and live stock after the expenses for feed, seed, fertilizer, stock, labor, repairs and rentals have been taken out. The average amount received per family from the sale of crops and live stock amounted to \$83, while the expenses amounted to \$86. Instead of a gain from farm operations they have an average loss of \$3 per family.

The supplementary income is the amount received from the sale of wood, posts, merchandise, meat and flour, and the return from unskilled labor and rentals. The most important item is unskilled labor which averaged \$630 per family. The sales amounted to a little over \$19 per family, the largest item being wood. The total supplementary income averaged \$650. By taking out the \$3 they lost on farm operations, we find their average net income to be \$647. This estimate does not take into consideration the value of the food raised and consumed on the land, nor such expenses as taxes, interest on investment, insurance, etc. But bearing in mind all contingencies that might affect the income one way or another, it is evident that the average annual income per family is very low.

For the most part, the parents are in the prime of life—the average age of the father being 44.2 years and of the mother 38.7 years.

In these 59 homes there are 208 children at home, an average of 3.5 per family. Of these, six are grandchildren and one more distantly related. There are four couples that have never had any

children in their homes, either of their own, of strangers or of relatives.

Of the children at home 37 per cent are under six years of age, nearly 45 per cent are of compulsory school age (7 to 15), less than 12 per cent from 16 to 21 years of age and about seven per cent over 21 years. Only three of these children are married and living at home.

In these same families 89 children, or an average of 1.5 per family, have left home. Seventy-three per cent of these are over 21 years of age, all of them are married. Twenty-one per cent are from 16 to 21 years of age, all but four of them are married. The remainder of the children are under 16 years of age.

These same families have lost by death 79 children, 63 of whom were under five years of age at the time of death. This makes the total average number of children to which these mothers have given birth about 6.4, nearly 18 per cent of whom died before reaching the age of five.

There is a tremendous amount of sickness among these families. At the time of the visit an epidemic of diphtheria was raging and just a short time before the community had been swept with scarlet fever. Many families never call a doctor, and even those who do frequently wait until it is too late. One boy died of diphtheria while I was in the community and the doctor told me the child's life could have been saved if the parents had used anti-toxin when he had urged it. Tuberculosis is rampant in the community. Because of the bad roads and the unreliability of the ferry, it often happens a doctor cannot be secured. It was said that there was only one doctor at the county seat who would go over to this community. This I did not verify. Many of the children were suffering from the after-effects of the influenza, scarlet-fever and diphtheria. In one family I found four children ranging in age from 8 to 14 years. The father said the children were complaining of headaches but he didn't think "it amounted to much." I held up a flour sack on which were printed some letters about two inches high, and not one of the children could recognize these letters more than eight feet away. The father seemed surprised and said "I reckon as soon as we get the corn out, I'll have to take 'em and have thar eyes looked after."

These people have a great amount of faith in home remedies,

especially roots and "yarbs." Mother after mother told me that she had never had a doctor at the time of the birth of her children. Some didn't believe in them, others waited too long and still others couldn't get one. Many of their children are still-born or die at birth. Many deaths were reported due to violence, among which were murder, burned to death, scalded to death, killed in the quarry, drowning and suicide.

Immorality among the parents is common and many illegitimate children were found in the community. Intermarriage is frequent. One feeble-minded and epileptic girl had given birth to four illegitimate children. Many of the women have had one and even two children before their marriage. Some of them are by the men they marry, others are not. So far as I was able to learn this clandestine living is confined wholly to the community. They do not bother people outside and vigorously resent any interference by outsiders with their mode of living.

They live in miserable houses. Thirty-three have so-called frame houses, 25 log houses, and one has a stone house. Many of the houses are little more than shacks, poorly constructed and in a bad state of repair. Not one is painted or has a pleasing outward appearance and surroundings. The houses have a total of 227 rooms, or an average of 3.85 per house. Since the family averages 3.5 children and two adults, the average number of rooms per person is only .7. For many families the sleeping quarters are very much overcrowded, especially since the rooms are small in size. Inside the houses are as unattractive as outside; not being finished, but just boarded up with rough lumber. The walls are either barren or pasted over with newspapers. The floors are uncarpeted, filthy, dirty and have a foul-smelling odor. Fireplaces are used for heating, and in many cases they are also the means by which the cooking is done. The furniture is very meagre, oftentimes dry-goods boxes serving for chairs and tables. Frequently there are not sufficient beds for all and the children are compelled to sleep on a pile of vermin-infested rags on the floor in the corner of a room. Many of the so-called beds can hardly be recognized as such because of the filthy litter that is piled on them. Only seven of the 59 houses are screened or even partly screened.

One day I came upon a tumble-down log cabin. In the outward as well as the inward appearance, the situation was no different



from the conditions just described, except that in one little room there was a beautiful piano. The mother pointed to it with pride and said it had cost \$700. She was paying for it at the rate of a dollar a week and had only four more years to pay. I do not know its value; it probably was not worth anywhere near what she believed—but I do know that the house, the five acres of land surrounding it, and all the rest of their household furniture and equipment was not worth \$700.

Forty of the families have no toilets of any kind. There are only six wells in the whole community and only one is adequately protected. Some of the families living nearby carry their water from this well, but the rule for the community is to get their water from the creek in the winter time and from the springs in the summer time. The quality of coldness is all that is desired to make good drinking water. These so-called springs are not springs in the true sense of the word, but are tiny streams of water winding in and around the hills always seeking the lower level. Since there are so few toilets, the bushes along these streams are used instead. This, together with the kitchen garbage, condemns the water as unfit for drinking purposes.

Since these families live in the country and do some farming, it is interesting to know how much the farm contributes to their tables.

They fattened, killed and used an average of 465 pounds of pork. In addition they bought an average of 156 pounds, making the total annual consumption of pork 621 pounds per family. Including the children this means roughly two pounds of pork for each person a week. Most of the pork bought is salt bacon and oftentimes it is strong and scarcely fit for human consumption.

A very small amount of veal or beef is used. Occasionally when at the county seat they buy a "mess" of fresh beef but the average family consumption of beef was only about 10 pounds a year.

Very few chickens are used for the simple reason that they do not raise many, and they seldom buy them to kill. The number killed during the year averaged 11 to the family. For the same reason the annual consumption of eggs, less than 19 dozen per family, is not high.

The consumption of flour amounts to about 1,200 pounds a year per family, most of which is bought. The annual consumption

of corn meal amounts to less than seven bushels per family. Potatoes averaged about 18 bushels to the family. They canned about 70 quarts of fruit and 38 quarts of vegetables.

The average consumption of these different items is considerably below that found in other farm communities which I have visited. The milk supply is wholly inadequate for the growing needs of children. The food lacks variety and is poorly cooked, many of the homes not having a cook stove.

The recreational opportunities of the community are poor and largely negative. Not one of the parents or children belongs to or attends agricultural meetings of any kind. A few families—about one-third—reported attendance at picnics, for the most part socials, suppers or other activities carried on at the church. The most important form of recreation in the homes is dancing, at which about one-half of the families reported attendance. The square dance prevails and it generally bears a bad reputation in the community. There is usually a fight or two, much liquor, and occasionally a shooting occurs. On the whole, there is a good deal of rowdiness in the community, and even at affairs conducted in the church, the teachers report difficulty in maintaining order.

There are four automobiles in the community; not a telephone was found. Eighteen of the homes have pianos or organs, mostly the latter, and 16 have some other kind of musical instrument.

Strange to say, very few even of the younger people go to the commercial amusements at the county seat. They go to town on business and when that is accomplished they return "across the river," as their section is often referred to by the townspeople. They do not mix and mingle with outsiders any more than they are compelled to.

The educational qualifications of the parents are low. Of the 56 men, 30 could not read or write and of the 56 women, 31 could not read or write. Twenty-one of the 26 men who could read and write have completed no more than the fifth grade and only one has gone beyond the eighth grade. This one man, now in his eighties, graduated from a small college in an adjoining state. He came and settled here in the community more than 40 years ago, has been twice married and raised two sets of children. His present wife cannot read or write. The reason for his coming and thus living remains unto himself a secret. Of the 25 women who could read



and write, 17 have not gone beyond the fifth grade and only one beyond the eighth grade.

The number of books averaged less than five to the home. Twenty-seven families have no books at all, not even a Bible. In the whole community there are only two daily newspapers, ten weekly papers, three farm papers and four current magazines.

From the appearance of things the children will be little if any better trained than are their parents. Of the 36 families with children of school age, only six said they kept their children in school regularly. As excuses for keeping them home, 5 gave work, 12 sickness, 3 are opposed to having the school conducted by the Mission and 16 gave reasons classed as indifference. There is undoubtedly a great deal of sickness but indifference is by far the most important cause. This was verified by the statements of the teachers themselves. They have no attendance officer and consequently the parents do just as they please about sending the children to school. For many years there were both a public school and a private one conducted by the Mission authorities; but this last year, largely because of the difficulty of getting a teacher, the public school has been abandoned and the funds have been used for the Mission school. A few of the families in the community are opposed to this, but while on principle the procedure may be questionable, yet in this particular case it is giving the people a better school than they otherwise would have. The Mission school, however, is powerless to enforce the compulsory attendance law and this is nullifying to a great extent its good effects.

There is no doubt, however, that within the last few years there has been some improvement in school sentiment due to the activities of the Mission workers. The Mission has a well-trained teacher and an assistant who also teaches school, but because of other activities they both are greatly overworked. They have not only the school work which is hard and trying but are also the central figures in church and Sunday school activities. They visit the homes and are especially helpful where there is sickness. On the whole they have the confidence of the community and are slowly getting into shape to be of greater service to the people. They act also as a charity organization society, receiving donations of clothing, shoes, etc., from other churches, societies and friends, and giving them to people whom they think need or deserve them. Their



chief activity, however, outside of the school is the church work. All of these activities are of great importance and highly commendable, but to my mind the thing this community needs is of greater and more fundamental importance. They need to know how to cook, how to keep house, how to care for and feed the children, how to make their homes attractive, how to care for the sick, and how to farm—in fact it may be summed up in one statement—how to live. The doling out of charity will not do it, church and Sunday school activities will not do it—even a well-conducted school will not do it—for the forces that undo are too great. I do not mean to criticise or belittle in the least these activities; they are good, and done in a true spirit of helpfulness, but they are the wrong point of approach. No people who are not self-respecting and self-supporting can have a very high degree of spiritual life. Practical demonstration in how to live and how to make a living will go farther than any other activity towards giving this community a spiritual life simply because these things are fundamental and without them there can be no higher enjoyment in life. These people do not so much need something done for them as they need to be taught how to do something for themselves. As Dr. Galpin pointed out, they are pathological. Their physical and mental health is low and they need to be treated accordingly. A community of this kind is a liability rather than an asset to society and if we consider alone the factor of social value, society would be better off without such a group of people; but humanitarianism will not allow the wholesale destruction of any people regardless of their conditions, consequently we must apply the only specific we know, namely education. Education for health, education for economic purposes, education for recreation, education for enjoyment, all summed up in one statement—education for living.

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Whatever first attaches to the tender age of children, whether good or bad, remains most firmly fixed, so that throughout life it may not be expelled by any after expression.—*Comenius*.

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The whole is no greater than the sum of its parts. Where the individual health, safety, and welfare are sacrificed or neglected the state must suffer.

—*U. S. Supreme Court, in Holden vs. Hardy, 1898.*

## ECONOMICS AND CHILD WELFARE

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RAYMOND G. FULLER

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The writer of a recent editorial on child labor concluded with the following sentence: "As for those whose enlightened love for childhood teaches them that the development and happiness of these little ones depends upon the removal of the economic disabilities which hamper all workers, their place is certainly not among the ranks of the reformers." He had declared that child labor is due fundamentally to low wages and high rents, and suggested that the only remedy is the abolition of the present capitalistic system.

The notion of the editorial writer is that child-labor reform is sentimentally futile, but he himself believes in a change of conditions as they affect children—he, too, would do away with child labor. But he would not bother with prohibitory child-labor laws or compulsory school attendance laws. He would go farther and faster. His own particular method of reform is much more drastic. The practical difficulty is that in no program of reform can we go farther or faster than public opinion will allow; and while the capitalistic system is awaiting its Waterloo, something is actually being accomplished toward the abolition of child labor.

The spirit of modern child-labor reform is not sentimental but scientific. The National Child Labor Committee is carrying on investigation and research of a type that exemplifies in social work the thought of Professor A. J. Todd, who says: "It is perfectly apparent by this time that the Promised Land of wholesome social life cannot be seen clearly by eyes dimmed with easy tears; nor can the call to constructive social work be heard above the thumping of a fluttery heart. Social reform of any and every kind must be thought out and carried through in the scientific spirit." The National Committee in its varied studies is seeking facts whithersoever they may lead, without reference to socialism or any other ism except humanitarianism. Socialism is a theory; but humanitarianism is not a theory, neither is it of necessity a Slough of Sentiment.



To be scientific is essentially to have regard for cause-and-effect relationships. Child labor is recognized by leaders in reform not only as a cause of effects but as an effect of causes. Why do children leave school to go to work? It has been found that scarcely a third of them do so under the influence of what might liberally be termed economic necessity. Taking our American child laborers by and large, they come from neither the affluent nor the indigent class of society but rather from that great group of the population which in common parlance is moderately well off. Some of them come from families where the labor of children is adopted as a means of becoming better off.

Newsboys are popularly believed to be entitled to a special measure of sympathy and pity for their struggle to maintain the poverty stricken home or support the widowed mother. The myth of the newsboy breadwinner has been demolished in the modern quest of the facts about child labor. All investigations corroborate the general findings of Hexter's study of "The Newsboys of Cincinnati." He found that 81.2 per cent of the newsboys there "came from homes where both parents were alive." Page after page of statistical data he summarizes as follows: "Judging by all of the above indications of their economic status, the number of families in need of the assistance of young school children in order to maintain a safe standard of comfort and decency is very low. The proportion of families assisted by relief agencies is far below the average expected. The actual number of cases in which newsboys have helped their families to achieve a normal standard of living when they would have been unable to attain it without such help is very small. In the complexity of motives actuating the rather large entry of children into the newspaper trade, poverty plays a very minor role. . . . The families of newsboys represent a comparatively high stratum of our population."

Poverty does play a large part in the causation of child labor—together with near-poverty, the largest part—and we have to remember that in particular cases it is often mixed with other causes as a contributing factor, but it is not the primary cause or even a contributing factor in a very considerable number of instances. Conditions in school, resulting in dissatisfaction or loss of interest, account solely or to a large extent for twenty-five to fifty per cent of the instances of withdrawal from school to go\*to work. Most



children who leave school do so of their own accord, without parental compulsion or objection. We may blame the children or we may blame the parents, but possibly some of the responsibility belongs to the school itself. The school should appeal more strongly both to children and to parents as thoroughly worth while. It should exert a stronger holding power of its own, and for this purpose we need better buildings, better equipment, better paid and better trained teachers, a more varied and flexible curriculum more closely related to the life of the community, and some other improvements.

The purely economic interpretation of child labor is good so far as it goes, but it falls down at several points. It does not explain the fact that many of the most heartless—or thoughtless—exploiters of children are parents marked by prosperity. In rural America, as a rule, the larger the farm and the more extensive the farm operations, the harder the children have to work and the less time and energy they have for schooling and play. The owner of a 200-acre farm in the beet field section of a western state worked his six, eight, and ten-year-old children during the season, keeping them out of school, while another farmer, who had made \$10,000 the preceding year, kept his two children, seven and eleven years of age, at work while school was in session. These are not isolated instances but could be multiplied on page after page.

It seems that one of the major causes of child labor is lack of understanding of the needs of children—lack of reverence for childhood. It is lack of knowledge of what children ought to have, considered as children and as future adults, or of willingness to provide it at all costs. There are families in the direst poverty who will serve their children well in all matters that pertain to their welfare—safeguard their health, send them to school and keep them there, and give them a chance to enjoy an abundant and wholesome play-life. Appreciation of childhood and ministration to its material and spiritual needs is not wholly dependent on the size of the family pocketbook.

Child-labor reform preaches the gospel of childhood. It preaches the needs of children and the rights of children that are founded upon those needs. It preaches the substitutes for child labor. For modern child-labor reform looks upon child labor as a phase of the general problem of child welfare. It pays attention to adult welfare in its relation, not to child labor

alone, but to child welfare in such of its manifold phases as health, schooling, play, delinquency, and dependency. Child labor it defines as a matter largely, and often wholly, of lost schooling or insufficient play, and in its program of reform urges, in addition to prohibitory child-labor and compulsory school attendance laws, the betterment of the schools and the provision of adequate play facilities. In its program it does not ignore the economic factor in child-labor causation but urges children's scholarships, mothers' pensions and other methods of making it possible for the children of poor parents to stay in school and have opportunity for healthful outdoor play—and thus be helped out of the poverty of the family. It is interested in workmen's compensation, unemployment insurance, and minimum wages—in all measures, legislative and otherwise, that will promote the economic welfare and security of adult workers.

Since the economic factor operates in the causation of child labor, it is recognized in the program of prevention. But the economic factor is only one factor in child-labor causation. Poverty and near-poverty do not alone explain child labor. Lower rents and higher wages are not going to solve the problem. A new social and economic order is not the solution unless it changes mankind, but by that time mankind will already have changed. Perhaps a new order of society would diminish the materialism, that under the present system, seems to have quite as much to do with child labor as poverty. The prosperous and the unprosperous alike are caught in the throes of this materialism. Those who are without money need it, those who have it struggle on for more, and in both cases the child is the sufferer.

It is a curious and enlightening fact that while commentators of a radical persuasion declare that child-labor reform is too slow and conservative, its program is denounced by others as altogether too radical. When, a short time ago, the present writer referred in print to "the democracy of childhood" as the objective in child-labor reform he was editorially criticised for promulgation of dangerous doctrine. What he had in mind was not equality of individuals in respect of either endowment or achievement, but equality of opportunity in childhood for sufficient play, suitable work, and a minimum of education in the schools. But "the dogma of equal opportunity," said this editor, "carries vastly further than that."



Where could we stop, he queried, if once we set out to guarantee opportunity in the form of a chance for schooling and freedom from labor—could we stop at the age of 16? or 18? or 20? or where? The editor saw limitless possibilities—but all dangerous ones. He saw the wiping out of inheritance and bequest of property in the name of this “dogma of equal opportunity.” He saw the subversion of the whole social and economic order, and he was terrified at the prospect.

It is doubtless true that the ideal—or dogma, as the editor called it—of equal opportunity carries pretty far, but so does the denial of that ideal. The denial carries pretty far in the opposite direction. Suppose we should deny to all children health and play and schooling and the other rightful opportunities of childhood. Would the editor accept that ideal—or dogma—as properly applicable to his own children? We might attempt to equalize opportunity by withholding it entirely, but that would be dangerous doctrine from the standpoint of those who can and wish to give their own children every opportunity at their start in life. The question arises, who are the children who are entitled to opportunity? Are they only the children who are born to opportunity, or all the children who are able to profit by it?

We cannot establish absolute equality of opportunity, but we can equalize the distribution of certain forms of opportunity in minimum amounts. Society need go no farther than it wishes in choosing the forms or amounts it will guarantee. It can stop when it decides that the time has come to stop.

The real “dogma of equal opportunity” is found in the frequent assertion and still more frequent assumption that every child has as good a chance as another to make good in this “land of equal opportunity.” Mixed with this false philosophy we discover a romantic fondness for child laborers on the part of a large proportion of the American public, which sees in working children, especially boys, the great American romance of success. The child laborer, *per se*, is a future captain of industry, a colossus of commerce, a master of men. The chances are against his ever being able to earn more than a living wage, if as much as that, but with fine disregard of facts we stick to the idea. It is the same psychology as that of superstition; we count the exceptional cases, disregarding the cases that follow the general rule.



Occasionally the future success of the child laborer is reckoned in terms other than pecuniary. A successful man of business, in opposing the passage of a child-labor bill in a state legislature, called his colleagues to witness that not only was he himself an example of what child labor could do for a man, but so was Abraham Lincoln. "But you and Abraham Lincoln," came the voice of one rising in his seat—"you and Abraham Lincoln are exceptions." Lincoln himself attributed his success to the influence of his mother. A metropolitan newspaper recently expatiated on the fact that several of the candidates who had just been nominated for high office in the nation had gone to work at an early age. "Without opportunities or advantages of any kind," wrote the editor, "these men have risen to prominence and power." And added, "How wonderful is America!" or words to that effect.

But when we come to think of it, in Dr. Crothers' suggestive phrase, we know full well that nobody succeeds in life without opportunities or advantages of some kind—unusual parents, maybe, or unusual ability; a taste for good reading, perhaps, was somehow developed, good books were available, and time was available for making use of them; or a special talent or genius for mechanics or science was awakened by some accidental stimulus of environment and was strengthened by exercise; and perchance good friends were found. No man ever succeeded because of child labor, but rather in spite of it; no man because of the lack of the rightful opportunities and advantages of children as represented by the substitutes for child labor. We boast about our self-made men, but Ward's studies of achievement show conclusively that self-made men are rare or non-existent and that "all who have succeeded have done so by virtue of some form of opportunity." He listed among the chief environmental factors favoring success: "Careful and prolonged intellectual training during youth, whereby all the fields of achievement become familiar and a choice of them possible in harmony with intellectual proclivities and tastes."

It is rather surprising that the American cult of opportunity should stand in the way of child-labor reform, but so it does. "Opportunity," "equality of opportunity," and "land of opportunity," may be listed in the long catalogue of stereotyped words and phrases that pass current without the vindication of critical thought in the particular connections in which they are so glibly used—and misused.



### THE CHANCE HE WANTED

He was a typical gamin, so diminutive in stature that I had to stoop to interrogate him, which I did in this way:

"Where do you get your papers, my little man?"

"Oh, I buy 'em in the Times Alley."

"What do you pay for them?"

"Fi' cents."

"What do you sell them for?"

"Fi' cents."

"You don't make anything at that?"

"Nope."

"Then what do you sell them for?"

"Oh, just to get a chance to holler."

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"George," said the teacher, "what does c-a-t spell?"

"Don't know sir," said George.

"What does your mother keep to catch mice?"

"Trap, sir."

"No, no. What animal is very fond of mi'k?"

"A baby, sir."

"You dunce! What is it that scratched your sister's face?"

"My nails, sir."

"I am out of patience. There, do you see that animal on the fence?"

"Yes, sir!"

"Then tell me what does c-a-t- spell?"

"Kitten, sir."

—*Bambino.*

The City chap for the novelty of the thing had agreed to work on his uncle's farm. One of his first remarks was: "I can push the plow all right, but why do I have to shove the blamed horse around with it?"

—*Good Words.*

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TEACHER: "Jimmie, let's see whether you have forgotten subtraction during vacation. Seven boys went to the pond but two had been told not to go swimming. How many went in?"

JIMMIE: "Why, seven, of course."

—*National School Digest.*

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"Senator McCumber appears to believe that children ought to work; and so do we. He remarked during the Senate tariff-hearings that if a child never works until he is sixteen years old, he never will learn to work; and this is true enough, though a wholly superfluous statement. Children are by nature about the hardest-working critters in creation. If Senator McCumber would for one day only undertake to follow the average five-year-old child through its regular pursuits, he would find that all his previous notions of hard work were only rudimentary. We heartily agree with Mr. McCumber that work is a good thing for children, and all the children that we ever saw or heard of seem to agree too, since there is no such thing as keeping them away from work except by force without stint or limit. Mr. McCumber's idea of work, however, seems to be that of work under an employer, for pay; and this is another thing altogether. Child labor, as commonly understood, is one of the most patent and unmistakable marks of an uncivilized community, and if Senator McCumber said, as according to the press reports he did say, anything which could by any conjuration be taken as a good word for it, he ought to be ashamed of himself."

—*The Freeman, January 11, 1922.*

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Children are the germs of a powerful social evolution. In them are incarnated and vitalized the marvelous hopes of humanity. Yes; they are the giving faith, the constructive faith of the future cosmopolis, from whose spires will be disseminated to the four winds the gospel of truth and it will lay the foundation of future human happiness.—*Francisco F. Fernandez.*

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The attitude of a nation toward child welfare will soon become the test of its civilization.—*Herbert Hoover.*





## BOOK SHELF

**VOCATIONAL EDUCATION.** Donald Snedden. New York: Macmillan Co. 1920.

This book, in the words of its author, is devoted "primarily to a discussion of current problems in vocational education." Vocational education for the rank and file, as distinguished from professional education for the few, is comparatively recent. It is interpreted by Professor Snedden as "an expansion—and a tremendous one—of the purposes of education by means of those specialized agencies which we collectively designate as schools." The aim, scope, organisation and administration of this type of work are explained, emphasis being placed on issues which are still controversial rather than on questions regarding which agreement has been reached. Specific branches of vocational education and the problems connected with each are discussed in detail, but the social and educational significance of the whole movement is never lost sight of.

G. H. F.

**THE MONSTER.** Horace Bleakley. New York: George H. Doran Company.

The lives of the little orphan, Robert Willoughby, apprenticed to a cotton mill when child labor conditions were at their worst, his son and his grandchild, reflect the industrial development of England between the end of the eighteenth and that of the twentieth century. Fortunately the conditions described, as they affect children at least, are a thing of the past.

G. H. F.

**PUBLIC EDUCATION IN KENTUCKY.** A Report by the Kentucky Educational Commission.

The General Education Board has recently completed a survey of public schools in the Blue Grass State. This volume furnishes an excellent picture of present conditions with detailed recommendations aimed to secure improved methods of administration, better-trained teachers and more adequate financial support.

The report recognizes that these changes are far-reaching and may seem

drastic, but regards them as essential. Experience, moreover, has demonstrated that they are practicable. "What these states have done, Kentucky can do."

G. H. F.

THE TWENTIETH-CENTURY RURAL SCHOOL. E. E. Davis, M.A. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company.

This is an elementary book for rural school teachers of a popular, not a scientific, nature. Its method is largely illustrative, its pages being filled with a description of the experiences of rural school teachers in various communities. The two outstanding impressions left by this book are: first, the necessity of interesting the community in the school; second, the fact that the success or failure of the school depends entirely upon the personality and adaptability of the teacher. Although it recognizes the limitations of the present rural school its suggestions as to curriculum and activities call for a modification and not a reorganization of the present system.

G. H. F.

THE TRAINING OF YOUTH. T. W. Berry. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

The author states in his preface that "this is intended to be a practical work, partly for the assistance of those who are in close touch with the adolescents, but also to serve a much wider purpose, because the nation as a whole needs to turn its attention to its duty towards the young, both outside the school and during the critical years immediately after school life." His book is not a scientific treatment of the subject but is rather a handbook of suggestions which each reader may work out for himself. It is the sincere expression of his conviction that everything can be accomplished by a judicious combination of education, recreation and religion with the purpose of bringing all the special advantages and spirit of the Public Schools to the whole youth of England.

H. B. S.

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC SCHOOL. Ross L. Finney, Ph.D. New York: Macmillan Company.

This book serves two purposes: (1) It presents a condensed, yet well-proportioned, history of education in the United States from pre-revolutionary times to the present day, emphasizing the influence of foreign educators such as Rousseau, Pestalozzi, Herbart and Froebel. (2) In the light of this history it discusses the educational situation of today, giving special emphasis to the weakness of our rural schools, the need for revision of the curriculum and change in methods of instruction. It describes briefly significant features in modern education such as the Gary System, the junior high school, rural school consolidation, the use of intelligence tests, etc., and suggests new lines for experiment in the future.

G. H. F.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF ADOLESCENCE. Frederick Tracy, Ph.D. New York: Macmillan Company.

This book is one of a series designed to serve as a manual for teachers in the field of moral and religious education. Dr. Tracy's book, however, is an excellent treatment of the subject for the general reader. It reflects throughout the influence of modern biological psychology.

THE SCIENTIFIC SPIRIT AND SOCIAL WORK. Arthur James Todd. New York: Macmillan Company.

Excerpt: "We all recognize that no little perverse sentimentalism has gone into the plea for restrictions upon the labor of women and children, and we condemn it without stint. But what of the sentimental interest of employers in maintaining woman's right to work as many hours as she wants to, or in permitting children to become captains of industry at any age they please? People, strange as it may seem, are still able to stir up a claptrap sort of sentimental indignation over the poor widow whose child is prohibited from following his calling as newsboy or gum-seller or messenger boy on city streets late at night. Other people are still gullible enough to swallow the sentimental appeal of the less efficient employer for aid in averting the destruction to industry and to nation if child labor is withdrawn or if the twelve-hour shift for men and night work for women are prohibited. Such feeble folk need some such bracing and manly tonic as a notable Connecticut employer gave not long ago on the subject of child labor. He said, 'We are not here primarily to do business; . . . any business which employs children so young that their physical and moral growth is dwarfed and stunted is, to the extent to which it so employs them, an evil in the community, and not a benefit.'"

LANGUAGE OF MUSIC. Olive B. Wilson-Dorrett. In Play School Series, edited by Clark W. Hetherington. Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York: World Book Company. \$2.40.

As the book deals with the acquisition of the musical language, it might be called a Primer of the Language of Music. It is not intended for the child, but is a guide for the leader or teacher in organizing the child's activities for control of the musical language through the play instinct. The method demands no special technical knowledge of music on the part of the teacher.

MONOGRAPHS ON VOCATIONAL EDUCATION, 1921 Series, Number 1. Report on Teaching Social Science in High Schools and Industrial Classes. Ruth Mary Weeks, John R. Commons and Frank M. Leavitt. The Vocational Education Association of the Middle West.

Whether the curriculum is to be purely academic, completing the education which the child should have received before being permitted to leave school,



whether it is to be purely industrial and technical to insure his occupational skill, or whether it is to be of broader scope including a consideration of economic and social questions, general science, hygiene, etc., is the most important question which faces continuation schools today. A monograph on Vocational Education published by the Vocational Education Association of the Middle West presents an able argument for giving instruction in social science in continuation schools and suggests a course of study adapted to this type of school. The relation of this course to the general continuation school curriculum is explained, and a general bibliography for the course is appended.

G. H. F.

CLEVELAND RECREATION SURVEY. Rowland Haynes, Directing Consultant. Ohio: Cleveland Foundation Committee.

The findings and recommendations of the Cleveland Recreation Survey are now available in seven well-printed and handy volumes, uniform with the report of the Cleveland Education Survey. The books are illustrated with diagrams, charts, maps and half-tones. Every volume is readably written. Titles of the volumes with their principal authors are as follows: Delinquency and Spare Time, by Henry W. Thurston; School Work and Spare Time, by F. G. Bonser; Wholesome Citizens and Spare Time, by John L. Gillin; The Sphere of Private Organizations, by Katherine Vassault; The Commercialization of Recreation, by Charolotte Rumbold; Public Provision for Recreation, by Rowland Haynes and Allen T. Burns. The report of the Cleveland Recreation Survey, though dealing primarily with local conditions and problems, is of general interest and value.

HEALTH AND SOCIAL PROGRESS. Rudolph M. Binder, Ph.D. New York: Prentice Hall, Inc.

Health books are the popular things nowadays, but this book is designed more to popularize health with thinking people than to make a bid for popular consumption. Professor Binder regards health as "the greatest factor in the history of man." "True social action can come only from an abundance of vitality." He traces the influence of health upon ideals and in turn upon social progress. Such factors as food, housing, climate, and heredity are rather academically treated from the standpoint of their bearing on health and of their influence upon the development of civilization. "Specific cases of health in relation to society" are traced through Greek and Roman history with special reference to malaria as the cause of the downfall of their civilizations. One is impressed particularly with the book's value in its reference to the general literature touching on health and its philosophical reasoning in arguing the case for public health.

H. H. M.

## NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE

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### HOW AND WHEN ORGANIZED

The National Child Labor Committee, organized April 15, 1904, was incorporated by Act of Congress, February 21, 1907, "to promote the interests of children." It owes its origin to the coming together of several men and women who, in different parts of the country, had been aroused by what they had seen of child labor in some of its worst forms, and to the publication of census figures showing the great extent of the evil.

### PURPOSE OR OBJECT

The object of the Committee is to safeguard American childhood as affected by industrial and agricultural conditions. The enactment and enforcement of progressive legislation and the development of enlightened public opinion are essential features of the Committee's policy. The Committee's effort goes beyond legislation—it goes beyond prohibition to all practicable means and methods of prevention, some of which require legislation and some of which do not. The Committee is vitally interested in the whole problem of premature school-leaving. It is interested, as well, in the establishment of substitutes for child labor, particularly suitable schooling, suitable play and suitable work—and in these measures both as a method and as a goal of child labor reform. Not an unoccupied but a well occupied childhood is its aim.

### SPECIFIC ACTIVITIES AND SERVICES RENDERED

The legislative program of the Committee is chiefly concerned with child labor laws, compulsory education laws, mothers' pension laws, and so-called Children's Codes. Items in the program may be listed as follows: Better child labor laws, better enforced; better school attendance laws, better enforced; better schools with stronger holding power of their own; vocational training; guidance, and placement; health supervision of the child in school and at work, physical examination of applicants for working papers; provision of public recreation facilities for children; children's scholarships, mothers' pensions, and other means of relieving and preventing poverty; all children under 16 in school on full time; all children between 16 and 18 in part-time or continuation schools if not attending school on full time. Throughout its existence the Committee has emphasized the necessity of efficient administration. In the last few years it has devoted much attention to the Children's Code, which represents the

attempt, in a given state, to standardise and coordinate the laws and administrative agencies having to do with children and to supply laws and agencies covering aspects of child welfare that have been neglected in the statutes.

The National Child Labor Committee from its inception has based its work on first hand knowledge gained through investigation of the particular phase of child labor under discussion. Such investigations were at first, of necessity, on a small scale, and devoted to a specific issue. Today the Committee has a large staff of trained investigators whose services are placed at the disposal of any community desirous of discovering the truth about itself as regards child welfare. Several states have taken advantage of this service, and in cooperation with both public and private agencies, the Committee has made a number of state-wide child welfare studies. These surveys cover such subjects as Public Health, Education, Dependency, Juvenile Delinquency, Institutions, Recreation, Child Labor, Agriculture, Rural Life, Taxation, and Law and Administration.

#### **TERRITORY COVERED**

The Committee deals with this problem as a local community problem, as a state problem, and as a national problem. It works throughout the United States.

#### **HOW INDIVIDUALS OR COMMUNITIES MAY SECURE SERVICE**

By application to the National Child Labor Committee, 105 East 22d Street, New York City.

#### **PUBLICATIONS OR EXHIBITIONS AVAILABLE FOR DISTRIBUTION**

The Committee publishes **THE AMERICAN CHILD**, a quarterly magazine of general child welfare. It also publishes various pamphlets and reports, including reports of its State child welfare studies. Photographs, slides and exhibits are furnished.

#### **PAMPHLETS AVAILABLE FOR DISTRIBUTION**

Children in Agriculture. Ruth McIntire. 10 cents.  
People Who Go To Beets. Theresa Wolfson. 15 cents.  
Children Who Work in Our Streets. Ruth McIntire. 5 cents.  
Child Welfare Work and the State. Edward N. Clopper. 10 cents.  
Farm Labor vs. School Attendance. Gertrude H. Folks. 10 cents.  
Helping the Farmers Through Their Children. Owen R. Lovejoy.  
Recreation and Child Welfare. Raymond G. Fuller. 10 cents.  
Seventeenth Annual Report. Owen R. Lovejoy.  
State Laws and Minimum Standards for Child Protection.  
Child Labor Facts. 1922.  
Child Labor, Compulsory School Attendance, and Mothers' Pension Laws of the States in Brief. 50 cents a copy.



### **SPECIAL STATE SURVEYS**

**Child Welfare in Kentucky. \$1.25.**

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**Rural Child Welfare.\* The Macmillan Co. \$2.00.**

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**\* Based on a study in West Virginia.**

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## Rural Child Welfare

An inquiry by the National Child Labor Committee, Based Upon Conditions in West Virginia, Under the Direction of Edward N. Clopper, Ph.D. Photographic illustrations by Lewis W. Hine. New York: The Macmillan Co.

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II. The Rural Home.....	<i>Charles E. Gibbons</i>
III. Child Labor on Farms.....	<i>W. W. Armentrout</i>
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I N D E X

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American Child

VOL. IV. – Nos. 1 and 2

MAY, 1922—AUGUST, 1922

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NOTE—Words printed in capitals indicate titles of articles

**National Child Labor Committee**

**Incorporated to promote the interests of children**

**1230 FIFTH AVENUE**

**NEW YORK CITY**

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## THE UNFINISHED TASK

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"Children are at work who should be in school or at play: therefore let us outlaw their employment and keep them in school. The evidence for this legislation is partly physiological, partly educational, partly social. The evidence is all in and the case has long since been presented. There are no longer advocates of child labor. There are merely obstructionists and those who have not considered the evidence. There are children at work in the cotton fields, sugar-beet fields, and other agricultural occupations. There are unsettled questions about the employment of adolescents from 14 to 18. The constitutionality of federal legislation has still to be decided. But the central task for which the National Child Labor Committee was created in 1904—the conversion of public opinion of the nation to the idea that children under 14 should not be gainfully employed, may fairly be said to have been accomplished. Children under 14 are still employed, but it is known to be an anachronism and one which can probably be completely overcome only by the improvement of elementary education and attention to child welfare in general." So writes Dr. Edward T. Devine in his recent volume on "Social Work."

The unfinished task of child labor reform—in spite of the magnitude and importance of the past accomplishment—is far more difficult and extensive than would appear from any brief and casual survey.

Dr. Devine says that the evidence for child labor legislation "is partly physiological, partly educational, partly social. The evidence is all in and the case has long since been presented." This is true enough—within limits. But the nature of the pertinent evidence regarding child labor is not sufficiently indicated by the classification given. In part this evidence is psychological. It has to do with the effects of child labor on personality and char-



acter. It has to do with mental as well as physical development and health. Of course it might be said that such evidence comes under the heading "social," but so does physiological and educational evidence. Effects on the individual are social effects, whether they come in the form of injuries or deprivations—e.g., the deprivations of schooling or of play.

Only a beginning has yet been made in application of child psychology to the definition and understanding of child labor. Therefore it cannot truly be said that "the evidence is all in."

New evidence of a psychological nature is needed not only for its strengthening of the cumulative case against child labor, but because different kinds of evidence vary in appeal with different people and, what is still more significant, vary in applicability with different forms of child labor. It would be easy to exaggerate the psychological approach to the child labor problem. In current discussions of other social and economic problems it is often used with scant regard for its true implications or its limitations. But insofar as it yields, or can be made to yield, valid data leading to valid conclusions, it is by no means negligible. No mode of approach, no kind of evidence, is negligible so long as child labor continues to exist or people remain unconvinced of its existence. We need to obtain and utilize any and every kind of evidence.

As Dr. Devine remarks, "There are no longer advocates of child labor." But there are those who think that child labor is over. There are even those whom no amount of evidence will convince that child labor still flourishes—their opposition to reform can be overcome only by the *force* of an enlightened public opinion. But is not the present evidence sufficient to convince the convincible, if it can be put before them in such a way that they will really consider it? Yes, it is quite sufficient as evidence against child labor in general, but the fact is that child labor is not child labor in general. It takes particular forms. We have always found a multitude of people who emphatically oppose child labor in the abstract. People in the textile centers were sorry for the slate pickers in the coal breakers. People in the coal region were sorry for the child laborers of the tenements and the



city dwellers were sorry for the little textile workers in New England and the South. In fact when the evil could be regarded as a great, national evil either without definite form or at least in forms not familiar to the local community, there was plenty of moral conviction against it.

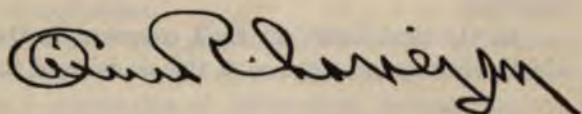
No further evidence is needed to convince people of the *evil* of child labor—that has been done. But what is child labor? In the particular form of employment in factories under the age of 14, the public is pretty well convinced that that is child labor. What about children in agriculture or in street trades? Here there is less conviction—and less accomplishment—and less evidence. Here the task is, in large measure, to change conviction. Agriculture and street work are thought by very many people to be good for children.

It all comes down to this: the public must be shown. Fact and argument must be presented without stint, leaving no loophole and no doubt. Tradition, custom, prejudice, ignorance, skepticism, individualism, inertia must be overcome. Moneyed power must be defeated. Regulation of street trades must meet the opposition of most of the newspapers. Regulation of industrialized agriculture must face the resistance of huge corporations. Fictions, lies and specious argument must be met by facts, facts, facts at every point, and the facts must have wide and constant publicity. Meanwhile the financial and publicity resources of the defenders of child labor—child labor even though they vehemently deny that it is child labor—are such that the advantage is on their side to the extent that any advantage accrues in the long run to the side that is not that of truth and humanity.

So it appears that in gathering and presenting evidence relating to child labor there must be regard not only for the different kinds of evidence (physiological, psychological, educational, etc.) but for the different kinds of child labor. Evidence against child labor in general does not get protection for children exploited in the moving pictures. Evidence against agricultural child labor in general does not get protection for children exploited in the beet fields—but evidence against child labor in the beet fields may open

the eyes of those who do not believe there is any such thing as *rural* child labor. Conditions in the beet fields are striking and sad enough to command attention when the facts are fully brought out. But the beet workers are not the only child laborers in agriculture whose protection waits on the gathering and presentation of more evidence than the considerable amount that has already been collected and disseminated—enough indeed to have convinced a large body of thoughtful men and women that overwork and exploitation of children in rural America constitutes a challenging national evil.

No, the evidence about child labor is not yet all in: nor will "the central task" of child labor reform be accomplished until child labor above the age of 14 as well as below, and in agriculture as well as in industry, has finally been wiped off the map of America. The "central task" is the complete abolition of child labor.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Charles R. Lawrence". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping tail on the final letter.



## NEWS FROM THE CHILD WELFARE FIELD

### **Federal Law Declared Unconstitutional**

On May 15th, the United States Supreme Court handed down a decision declaring the federal child labor tax law unconstitutional. This decision places upon the membership the obligation to redouble its efforts to bring the backward states up to the standards of the invalid federal law—and beyond, for the federal law did not affect children in agriculture or a host of other occupations, nor did it impose an educational or physical requirement for employment certification.

In the next issue, we shall comment further on the situation which arises in consequence of this decision of the Court.

---

### **Purpose and Scope of the National Child Labor Committee**

The purpose and scope of the work of the National Child Labor Committee may be summarized as follows:

1. To determine by means of accurate studies the extent and the causes of child labor in manufacturing and commercial industries and in agriculture.
2. To safeguard children against adverse conditions of labor in agriculture and industry.
3. To cooperate with all other interested agencies, organizations and institutions in the promotion of normal child development by increasing and enlarging the opportunities for education, for health and for recreation.
4. To assist in the fuller realization of these rights of childhood through better laws and through more enlightened practices on the part of government, industries and parents.



5. To create and foster an intelligent public opinion which will support these aims.

The central field of the work of the Committee is that of child labor in industry and agriculture. The problems, however, which it seeks to solve are complex and cannot be disassociated from general welfare problems, especially in methods of attack or of approach. For example, in considering child labor on the farm the Board recognizes that no solution can be reached except as agriculture is made profitable or rural life is made attractive and healthful. The approach to the solution of the farm child labor problem, therefore, must be broad and varied.

The purpose of our child labor activities is to secure to the child the opportunity for properly balanced, normal development. The child labor problem cannot, therefore, be separated from the educational: to protect the child without providing for his education is impracticable. Neither can it be separated from matters of hygiene, for industrial conditions are intimately related to the problem of health conservation.

Recreation is important both as a substitute for labor, for many parents put their children to work rather than have them idle on the street, and as a preventive of delinquency among employed children who do not know what to do with their free time. The Committee is therefore concerned with the relation between juvenile employment and delinquency for it finds that working children contribute far more than their share to the ranks of delinquents. Recreation for children must have some interest. If not employed and not in school, proper provision must be made for their recreation.

There must of necessity be close study of the relations of child labor to general welfare matters and an intimate cooperation with other agencies dealing with the welfare of the child.

The Committee's ideal is to secure for each child an opportunity for normal development through helpful legislation and properly directed and co-related educational, social and industrial activities affecting children; but it believes that in working towards this ideal it must continue to place the main emphasis on problems in the field of child labor and take them as points of departure.

### Next National Child Labor Conference

The Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor will be held in Providence, R. I., June 27, in connection with the Forty-ninth Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work.

The social work program runs from June 22d to 28th inclusive. A large number of leading organizations will hold meetings in Providence either immediately prior to or during the week of the National Social Work Conference Meeting. The Annual Meeting of the Conference draws to itself not only the large membership of the Conference, but members of a large number of organizations who select the time of the annual meeting of the Conference as the occasion for meetings of their organizations, and it is the presence of hundreds of members of Kindred Groups which adds greatly to the value of the annual meetings of the Conference. It is hoped that the National Child Labor Committee's membership will be very largely represented at Providence both at our own meeting and at the other meetings of the week.

The Providence Committee on Arrangements for the meeting of the National Conference of Social Work requests that those who are planning to attend and who desire hotel accommodations write as soon as possible for their hotel reservations to Mr. Arthur L. Aldred, "Gladding's," Providence, R. I. The Committee is making arrangements for the housing of delegates in private homes and boarding houses, as well as in hotels. It is expected that, as usual, convention passenger rates will apply on the railroads.

Following is the tentative program for the Providence meeting on child labor:

General Topic:—Children in Street Trades.

I. Present and Future Tasks of the National Child Labor Committee.....*Owen R. Lovejoy*

II. Description and analysis of conditions in cities of ten states:

In Chicago

Miss Anne Davis

In Philadelphia

Mr. Henry Gideon

In Massachusetts

Mrs. Kenneth E. Appel

In Alabama

Mrs. Loraine B. Bush

In Syracuse, N. Y.  
Mrs. Horace Eaton  
In Cincinnati  
Mr. Maurice B. Hexter  
In Dallas  
Mr. Elmer Scott  
In Iowa and Michigan  
Miss Sara A. Brown  
In North Carolina  
Professor E. C. Lindeman  
In Yonkers, N. Y.  
Miss Anne Hill

- III. (a) Regulation of Street Trades ..... *Wiley H. Swift*  
(b) General Discussion of a Street Trades City Ordinance or  
State Law
- 

### **National Conference of Social Work**

The next annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work will be held in the city of Providence, Rhode Island, June 22d to 29th. The Program Committee of the Conference in conjunction with the program committees of the various divisions has done everything possible to insure the formulation of a program of exceptional interest.

The subjects for General Session meetings are as follows:

1. The Changing Fundamentals of Social Work.  
The Family as a Factor in Social Evolution.
2. Neglected Fundamentals in Children's Work.  
(a) What Fundamentals Are Being Neglected?  
(b) The Superficial Character of Child-caring Work as a Whole.
3. The Law-breaker and Needed Improvements in His Treatment.
4. Underlying Concepts in the World Movement for Health.
5. The Future of a Community in an Industrial Civilization.  
(a) The Place of the Local Community in Organized Society.  
(b) The Effect of Modern Industry on Community Life.
6. The Functions of Public and Private Agencies in the Social Work of the Future.
7. Racial Diversities and Social Development.

In addition to these meetings, which are of interest to all members of the Conference regardless of the specific field of social service in which they are primarily interested, the Division on Children has arranged for the following program:



*Section Meeting I*

- (a) The General Status of Child Protective Agencies Throughout the United States.
- (b) The Relationship Between the Functions of the Juvenile Court and those of General Child-caring Agencies.

*Section Meeting II*

Joint Meeting with Inter-city Illegitimacy Conference.

- (a) How far should the Courts guarantee support orders for children of unmarried mothers?
- (b) How can we expect mothers to keep their children?
- (c) A study of adoption problems occurring with children of unmarried parents.

*Section Meeting III*

The Spiritual Values of Childhood.

- (a) The Religious Life of the Child.
- (b) The Ethical Values at which Children Naturally Arrive.
- (c) The Aesthetic Sensibilities of Children.

*Section Meeting IV*

- (a) What are the minimum qualifications for a good Juvenile Court?
- (b) What are the minimum qualifications of a good training school for delinquent boys?
- (c) What are the minimum qualifications of a good child-placing agency?

*Section Meeting V*

The School's Responsibility for the Leisure Time of the Child.

It is anticipated that the attendance of members of the Conference and others interested in social work will be exceptionally large this year as Providence is ideally situated as a convention city. There will be ample hotel and housing accommodations for all who desire to attend. The hotel headquarters for the Conference will be in the Hotel Biltmore. This hotel is now practically completed and will be one of the largest and finest hotels in New England.

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### Child Labor, National, Not Sectional

"Not only is labor obtained more cheaply in the southern states but the hours of labor are longer and child labor is permitted." So reads a recent editorial from the Bangor, Maine, *Commercial*. And in the great textile strike in Rhode Island one of the reasons advanced for the lengthening of the working day and the reduction of wages "is the necessity of meeting the competition of the southern cotton mills where child labor is largely employed."

The National Child Labor Committee protests against this disparagement of southern mills. In the following open letter to the

Bangor *Commercial*, under date of March 9, Owen R. Lovejoy, General Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, wrote:

"On this point permit me to say that under the Federal Tax on Child Labor hours of labor of children in all mills are equalized throughout the country. No children under 16 are allowed to work in any textile mill for more than 8 hours a day, 48 hours a week, or at night. Were it not for this federal law some parts of New England would show a very unfavorable comparison with some parts of the South. For example: In Alabama, Kentucky and Tennessee children under 16 are prohibited by the state law from working in mills more than 8 hours a day or 48 hours a week, while in Maine such children may work 9 hours a day and 54 hours a week. In New Hampshire they may work  $10\frac{1}{4}$  hours a day and 54 hours a week, while in Rhode Island they may work 10 hours a day and 54 hours a week. In Alabama a child under 16 cannot receive an employment certificate unless he has completed the 4th grade. Maine does a little better, requiring the completion of the 6th grade but Rhode Island offsets this advantage by requiring only the 'ability to read and write English.'

"These higher standards in southern states have been established since the enactment of the first Federal Child Labor Law and in some instances against stubborn opposition. It would be to the credit of New England if Maine and New Hampshire and Rhode Island would establish similar standards rather than rely on the federal government to drag them up to decent standards."

---

### Legislation in Rhode Island

The Legislature of Rhode Island during its 1922 session devoted considerable of its time to consideration of social legislation. Several measures in this field were adopted by the Assembly.

Two bills having the support of the Consumers' League of Rhode Island and the National Child Labor Committee were introduced. One of these bills, providing for an 8-hour day and a 48-hour week for children under 16 years of age, working in any factory, manufacturing, mechanical, business, or mercantile establishment, died in committee. The present law limits the work of such children to 10 hours a day and 54 hours a week.



For many weeks the State has been in the grip of the greatest industrial strife of its history. The Assembly maintained the attitude that it should enact no legislation that might give either side an advantage in the present strife, or the stamp of approval, therefore it refused to endorse any measures affecting working hours or working conditions even for children.

The other bill, providing that a child, to secure a work permit, must be 14 years of age and be able to read and write simple English sentences and have completed a course of study equivalent to six yearly grades, was passed by both branches of the Assembly without a dissenting vote. The old law provided that, to secure a work permit, a child must be 14 years of age and be able to read and write simple English sentences. Each permit-issuing officer was the judge of the ability of the children who applied for such permits.

The most serious objection offered to the bill was that it was not necessary, as most children going to work, it was said, have finished the sixth grade. Those raising this objection, however, had no data to prove their contention—no record of this kind is kept by the Department of Education. This led to a study which showed facts quite contrary to the expressed views of those who raised the objection. The study revealed that at least 45 per cent of the children obtaining work permits in 1921 had not completed the sixth grade. In one of the large manufacturing towns of the State 69 per cent, and in another, 59 per cent of the children who secured permits had not completed the sixth grade.

This new law means that children must stay in school until they have completed the sixth grade or have become 16 years of age. The latest figures on issuance of work permits published by the Commissioner of Education are for the year 1919. During that year 8,153 work permits were issued to children 14 and 15 years of age. The school census gives 19,248 as the number of 14 and 15-year-old children in the State in that year. Work permits then were issued to 42.3 per cent of this age group.

The State Factory Inspector reports, for 1920, 7,243 and, for 1921, 4,815 children under 16 years of age working in establishments inspected by him. Of this decrease he says: "The number of children employed is the smallest since the year 1900 and the percentage of child labor is the lowest in the history of the department. The large decrease in the number of children employed can, undoubtedly,



be largely attributed to the Federal Child Labor Law, which forbids the employment of children under 16 years of age in manufacturing establishments more than 8 hours a day or 48 hours a week."

Employers and truant officers, however, express their opinion as being that this decrease of child employment is in a large measure due to industrial inactivity and that once industry gets on its feet there will be an increasing demand for child labor. This new state law was enacted at a very opportune time.

A bill providing for the appointment of a Director of Mothers' Aid and appropriating money to finance a study of dependency was also endorsed by the Assembly. The object of the study is to learn the approximate number of mothers who would be entitled to aid and the size of the appropriation that would be necessary to carry on such work. There is no mothers' pension law on the statute books at present, but it is anticipated that the result of this study will be the enactment of an intelligent legislation in 1923.

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### Legislation in Other States

\* A few important changes in child welfare legislation have been effected during the recent state sessions. Virginia has raised its compulsory school age and amended its child labor law to provide for an adequate employment certifying system.

Kentucky has adopted several constructive educational measures, and enacted into law a bill to create a Kentucky Child Welfare Commission to continue the work of the Children's Code Commission. Other measures passed permit juvenile courts to appoint volunteer probation officers, give the State Board of Charities and Correction exclusive control over minors committed to Houses of Reform, and make it a felony to desert a pregnant wife.

Maryland has established a new Bureau of Child Hygiene in the State Department of Health and has passed a law giving the State Board of Labor and Statistics authority to exercise vocational supervision over mentally retarded children from 14 to 18 years of age.

In Massachusetts child welfare legislation has made very little progress. An effort to repeal the 48-hour law was defeated, but all attempts to raise the compulsory school age and to regulate the

physical examinations required in employment certificates met the same fate, as did an amendment to increase the penalty for illegal employment of minors in dangerous trades.

In New Jersey, there was an unsuccessful attempt to put through a statewide street trades law. The New Jersey mothers' pension law was slightly amended.

In New York, the law regulating the age limit in specified occupations was amended to prohibit delivery work to girls under 18. The provision governing the return of work permits was also amended as well as the vacation permit and street-work permit regulations. The truant officers may now enforce the child labor law in addition to the newsboy law.

In Rhode Island, the educational requirements for the work permit were raised to the completion of the sixth grade, and the law providing for the appointment of a Director of Mothers' Aid and appropriating money to finance a study of dependency was passed.

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### Children on the Stage

Can the Pennsylvania child labor law prevent children from acting, is a question which has recently been widely discussed at a series of public hearings before the State Industrial Board. According to the terms of the Pennsylvania law, no child under 14 years can be gainfully employed in any occupation, or under 16 after 8 P.M. The Department of Labor and Industry has declared its intention of enforcing this law as applying to children on the stage, but leaves it in the hands of its Industrial Board to grant exemptions to "exceptional children."

Various state child welfare organizations and the National Child Labor Committee are standing back of a rigid enforcement of the child labor law. Theatrical managers, on the other hand, are bitterly opposed, and urge the immediate adoption of a licensing system. The matter is still unsettled.

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### Membership Notes

The Membership Department of the National Child Labor Committee takes this opportunity of acknowledging in the *AMERICAN*



CHILD its appreciation of the service of all local committees and of their individual members.

Among the recent receipts through local effort are:

Ridgewood, N. J., through Mrs. W. J. Berry, local treasurer, amounts totaling nearly .....	\$100
Summit, N. J., through Mrs. H. B. Twombly, local treasurer, over.....	200
Short Hills, N. J., through Mrs. Stuart Hartshorn, local treasurer, over .....	200
Glen Ridge, N. J., through Mrs. William H. Sayre, local treasurer, over .....	100
Montclair, N. J., through Miss Laura Lewis, local treasurer, over.....	500
Dayton, Ohio, through Mr. H. B. Canby, local treasurer, almost.....	500
St. Paul, Minn., through Mr. A. G. Driscoll, local treasurer, over.....	400
Staten Island, N. Y., through A. J. Wadhams, local treasurer, almost.....	170
Detroit, Mich., through R. T. Cudmore, local treasurer, nearly.....	3,400

Forest C. Ensign, State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., has been reappointed this year as local treasurer of Iowa City. In addition to sending out a letter appeal, Mr. Ensign and his committee are planning ways of reaching his city in a more thorough way than has before been attempted.

H. L. Sage, of Hackensack, N. J., is acting as local treasurer for Hackensack.

Others who have recently accepted local treasurer appointments are: Miss Helen Ammerman, New Bedford, Mass., Miss Mary Taylor Blauvelt, Hartford, Conn., Mrs. Lawrence A. Tanzer, Chairman of Civics Education, Westchester Woman's Club, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.

Dr. Herman L. Fairchild, University of Rochester, N. Y., a member of the Committee and friend of long standing, has sent in a list of 250 names of personal friends and acquaintances with the suggestion that we appeal to these people for membership in his name. Such personal contact is very valuable in our work. The Membership Department will appreciate it if other members will follow Dr. Fairchild's lead.

From the Kentucky branch of the National Child Labor Committee, through Mrs. Bernard Selligman, Treasurer, we have recently received memberships totalling \$431.

On April 1st the Membership Department enrolled its youngest member—Margaret McClellan of Illinois—aged *one day*. A friend of the organization sent Baby Margaret a membership in this Committee instead of flowers—a suggestion that we hope may establish a precedent to other well-wishers of the National Child Labor Committee.



### In Michigan

As the May AMERICAN CHILD goes to press, the gratifying information comes from Michigan of the organization of membership committees for the National Child Labor Committee in Detroit, Kalamazoo County, Grand Rapids, Battle Creek, and Jackson. Plans for similar organizations are under way in Saginaw County, Ann Arbor, Albion, and Lansing.

Detroit leads the list with a report of \$5,000 already secured in pledges and subscriptions. The Detroit Committee is composed of Mrs. H. J. Maxwell Grylls, serving as chairman; Richard T. Cudmore, of the People's State Bank, as treasurer; Mrs. G. Leon Haywood, assistant treasurer; Mrs. M. P. Cogswell, Mrs. L. Edwards and Miss Phyllissa Watts, secretaries; and an executive committee composed of the leaders in every important woman's organization in the city. This committee is reorganizing for permanent local and state work, as well as for continuing to develop interest in the membership of the National Committee.

The Grand Rapids membership work is sponsored by the Grand Rapids Child Labor Association, Mrs. Joseph W. Roche, President, through the appointment of a special committee on National Membership. The Kalamazoo County Branch of the National Child Labor Committee is working for National membership subscriptions with Mrs. S. Rudolph Light, chairman, Mrs. Anne B. Schanz, secretary, Miss Lily Phelps, of Kalamazoo National Bank, treasurer, Mrs. Caroline Bartlett Crane, chairman of speakers' committee, and Miss Trafford, chairman for township organization. Mrs. J. H. Myers has been appointed chairman of the Jackson Branch and Mrs. George D. Burch of the Battle Creek Branch.

The Kalamazoo, Michigan, branch of the National Child Labor Committee, established last month, is out for a \$2,000 quota in memberships. Mrs. S. B. Light is chairman, Mrs. Anna Schanz, secretary, and Miss Lily Phelps, treasurer.

Mrs. Edward J. Jeffries of Detroit is Michigan's State Chairman for the National Child Labor Committee. The Michigan State Executive Committee will consist of the chairman from each city.

It is hoped that the slogan "Ten thousand members in Michigan" will not only result in that strength for the National work, but in the strong public opinion needed to help the rural child situation in Michigan, and that the splendid example of Michigan's

organization for the National and state work, will be copied by every state in the Union.

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### **Child Labor Day in Coblenz**

Child Labor Day in America was celebrated this year with much spirit in Coblenz, Germany. The protagonists of the observance were the A. F. G.

The National Child Labor Committee membership campaign, beginning January 29th in Coblenz, was the inspiration of Captain Milton A. Lowenberg, Q. M. C., American Forces in Germany. When Captain Lowenberg, for long a member of this Committee, received a National Child Labor Committee appeal beginning "Child Labor Day in 1922 will be what you make it," he decided to make it, even in Germany. Immediately he dispatched a cable to New York asking the Committee to rush campaign literature.

Through Captain Lowenberg's membership campaign, which included publicity in the *Amaroc News*, the official newspaper of the American Forces in Germany, booths and bulletin board displays, over 200 officers, privates, nurses and doctors in the American unit in Coblenz joined the Committee. Nearly \$500 was subscribed in memberships. This was the largest cash return made by any city as a result of Child Labor Day observance.

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### **Columbia Using "Rural Child Welfare"**

Miss Mabel Carney, Professor of Rural Education in Teachers College, Columbia University, writes as follows about "Rural Child Welfare," a report and discussion by the field staff of the National Child Labor Committee:

"This is, in my judgment, a remarkable book on a vital subject, and one which deserves the widest publicity and attention. We are already using it here abundantly and I assure you that it will be a privilege to recommend it whenever possible."

Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield, President of the Massachusetts Agricultural College and of the American Country Life Association, says:

"I am very much impressed with the scope and quality of the report and congratulate you on it."

Professor Frank H. Hankins, head of the Department of Sociology, Clark University, writes:

"The book is very attractively gotten up and its contents are extraordinarily good. I think you are quite right in emphasizing the tremendous importance of play as the basis of the physical, intellectual and moral development of children. It is a natural and spontaneous expression of organic tendencies and character traits and I believe, with you, it is absolutely essential for normal development.

Professor E. C. Branson, head of the Department of Rural Sociology, University of North Carolina, has adopted "Rural Child Welfare" for use in his summer courses.

Nat T. Frame, Director of Agricultural Extension, West Virginia University, says: "We are hoping that a copy of 'Rural Child Welfare' will be read carefully by every extension worker, school teacher, Farm Bureau member, and other country life leaders in West Virginia."

Readers of the *AMERICAN CHILD* may secure copies of "Rural Child Welfare" at the special price of \$2. Address National Child Labor Committee, 105 East 22d Street, New York City. See inside back cover of this issue of the *AMERICAN CHILD* for a description of the volume.

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### A Review of "Rural Child Welfare"

In *The Survey* for April 15th Miss Ruth Metzger writes of "Rural Child Welfare" as follows:

"City people who have always looked upon country life as an unmixed blessing for children are far from realizing the tremendous handicaps of rural childhood in communities where the more aggressive members have left the farms, or the tide of civilization has turned aside to follow the good roads and the railways. The National Child Labor Committee has done a bit of long needed investigation in the cause of children on the farms, choosing West Virginia as its field of activity. On account of the varied topography and soil this state presents a range of problems fairly representative of rural conditions all over the country. There are lonely mountain settlers who have intermarried in their isolation until ten feeble-minded children are found in one home; there are farm communities where the Four-H



clubs guided by state agents have brought families into co-operation and made it possible for boys and girls to attend the state agricultural college and spend part of their vacation in summer camps with other children. Between these extremes are many more aspects of farm life that need intelligent consideration by the people who form or influence the laws relating to child welfare, and by the people who actually live in rural districts.

"Under the direction of Edward N. Clopper, the author of *Child Labor in City Streets*, seven men and women have made this scientific study of the relations of the rural child to his home, school, community and state, and provided excellent and reliable material for practical purposes; presenting it, at the same time, in such form that a sympathetic picture is readily created by the reader. Laws relating to marriage, taxation, schooling, labor and delinquency are discussed, and the method of their enforcement with suggestions, for improvement given. Lewis W. Hine's photographs dramatize the story.

"Lack of mentality, lack of opportunity, lack of training, are primarily at the root of the farm families' misery. West Virginia is making an effort to do effective work along all three lines, partly through the Four-H clubs that help develop the head, the hand, the heart and the health of the child, and partly through state laws. But, as Mr. Clopper points out better days for the rural child are coming only when its parents realize that it should get a square deal, and at present this is not the case. 'Country people must bring about the dawn themselves,' he says, 'and they can do it if they will but look at the child's needs from the point of view of the child instead of from their own and then take action, partly individual and partly joint, that common sense dictates. They who would be saved must save themselves.' It is high time that this conception of the rights and importance of childhood penetrate to farm communities where idleness and play are still synonymous."

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### **Child Labor in Serbia**

The following comes from Dr. Rudolph R. Reeder, of the American Commission to Serbia: Aside from ignorance in health matters which our Commission is attempting to make headway against, the main problems of childhood seem to be (1) a dearth of educational

advantages, especially school houses and teachers, in which the girls suffer more than the boys; (2) lack of play in practically all forms, and (3) child labor. The last will be hard to do anything to alleviate as this is an agricultural country with about 95 per cent a peasant population. Children begin knitting and tending sheep when about five years old and gradually emerge into illiterate field workers and weavers. The women who work hardest have practically stopped using their brains and few of them seem capable of learning to care for a baby—hence a high infant mortality rate.

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### Child Nature, the Law and the Courts

In various issues of the *AMERICAN CHILD* we have published material showing the very large influence which the characteristic instincts and impulses of childhood exert in the causation of industrial accident. The psychological side of industrial accident to boys and girls is pretty well established. Besides playfulness there is curiosity and there is the general irresponsibility of children. There is also adolescent awkwardness. Many other factors operate. In the *AMERICAN CHILD* for February we had occasion to report a decision of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin involving the psychology of childhood and, by adherence to legal tradition and technicality, setting aside the award of the State Industrial Commission in the case of an injured minor.

We now have a decision\* of the United States Supreme Court that suggests this same issue between child nature and draconian legalism. It seems that on the outskirts of Iola, Kansas, there is a tract of land about twenty acres in extent, upon which formerly there stood a plant for the making of sulphuric acid and zinc spelter. In 1910, the owner tore the building down but left a basement and cellar, in which, in July, 1916, there lay a body of water, clear in appearance but in fact dangerously poisoned by sulphuric acid and zinc sulphate that had come in one way or another from the owner's works. It appears that the owner knew of this water and of its poison character. A family, travelling through that country, encamped at some distance from the tract of land containing the poisoned pond. The children of this family, eight and eleven years

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\* United Zinc and Chemical Company, Petitioner, vs. Van Britt and Susie Britt. No. 164. October Term, 1921.

old, went upon the land and into the water, were poisoned and died. In the trial court, the next of kin of the children received a verdict and judgment which was affirmed by the Circuit Court of Appeals but reversed March 27, 1922, by the United States Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court, though recognizing the existence of the so-called "humane doctrine" in cases involving "attractive nuisances," remarked that "infants have no greater right to go upon other people's land than adults, and the mere fact that they are infants imposes no duty upon landowners to expect them and to prepare for their safety." The Court declared that there existed no explicit or implied invitation to enter upon the property. "In the case at bar it is at least doubtful whether the water could be seen from any place where the children lawfully were and there is no evidence that it was that that led them to enter the land. But that is necessary to start the supposed duty. There can be no general duty on the part of the landowner to keep his land safe for children, or even free from hidden dangers, if he has not directly or by implication invited or licensed them to come there. . . . It is suggested that the roads across the place were invitations. A road is not an invitation to leave it elsewhere than at its end."

The decision was delivered by a six to three vote. Chief Justice Taft, Mr. Justice Day and Mr. Justice Clarke dissented, holding for the applicability of the "humane doctrine" in this case as against the so-called "hard doctrine." Mr. Justice Clarke wrote the dissenting opinion, in which he said:

"In 1873, in *Railroad Company v. Stout*, 17 Wall. 657, this court, in a turntable case, in a unanimous decision, strongly approved the doctrine that he who places upon his land, where children of tender years are likely to go, a construction or agency, in its nature attractive, and therefore a temptation, to such children, is culpably negligent if he does not take reasonable care to keep them away, or to see that such dangerous thing is so guarded that they will not be injured by it when following the instincts and impulses of childhood, of which all mankind has notice. The court also held that where the facts are such that different minds may honestly draw different conclusions from them, the case should go to the jury.

"Twenty years later the principle of this Stout case was elaborately re-examined and unreservedly affirmed, again in a unanimous decision in *Union Pacific Railway Company v. McDonald*, 152 U. S. 262. In each of these cases the contention that a child of tender years must be held to the same understanding of the law with respect to property rights as an adult and that therefore, under the circumstances of each, the child injured was



a trespasser, was considered and emphatically rejected. The attractiveness of the unguarded construction or agency, the temptation of it to children—is an invitation to enter the premises that purges their technical trespass. These have been regarded as leading cases on the subject for now almost fifty years and have been widely followed by state and federal courts,—by the latter so recently as 265 Fed. Rep. 192 and 271 Fed. Rep. 287. . . .

“Believing as I do that the doctrine of the Stout and McDonald cases, giving weight to, and making allowance, as they do, for the instincts and habitual conduct of children of tender years, is a sound doctrine, calculated to make men more reasonably considerate of the safety of the children of their neighbors, than will the harsh rule which makes trespassers of little children which the court is not substituting for it, I cannot share in setting aside the verdict, of the jury in this case, approved by the judgments of two courts, upon what is plainly a disputed question of fact and in thereby overruling two decisions which have been accepted as leading authorities for half a century, and I therefore dissent from the judgment and opinion of the court.”

The decision of the Supreme Court has a good deal of significance for all who are concerned in securing for children the rights of children. The rights of children, legal and other, are founded ultimately on humanely natural instincts, impulses, desires, and needs.

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### **Joint Committee on Prevention of Delinquency**

The Commonwealth Fund of New York has recently announced plans for a five-year, nation-wide demonstration of methods for the prevention of delinquency. The New York School of Social Work, the Public Education Association of New York operating through a recently organized National Committee of Visiting Teachers, and the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, together with the newly created Joint Committee on Methods of Preventing Delinquency will cooperate in the demonstration.

The program is based upon the belief that maladjustment in childhood is a predisposing cause of adult delinquency and that delinquency can be more successfully handled when first indications of something wrong appear than later when the pattern is set. Studies conducted by psychiatrists attached to courts and penal institutions indicate that a majority of the individuals they examine have from early childhood shown abnormalities of conduct which are recognized as such by their families and their associates and the evidence seems to show that in many such cases early diagnosis

and treatment might have altogether prevented any serious wrongdoing. Effort will, accordingly, be centered on the child of public school age.

The New York School of Social Work has established a psychiatric clinic, known as the Bureau of Children's Guidance, under the directorship of Dr. Bernard Glueck, to which problem children from certain public schools in New York City are being sent for thorough study and treatment. Students from the School of Social Work, and the visiting teachers whom the Public Education Association has placed in each school reached by the Bureau, will provide the field service for the clinic.

The Commonwealth Fund has offered fifteen scholarships of \$1,200 each at the New York School of Social Work, which will be awarded annually by a committee consisting of the directors of the School of Social Work, the Commonwealth Fund, and the Bureau of Children's Guidance, to persons desiring to fit themselves for work as visiting teachers, probation officers, or psychiatric social workers.

The National Committee on Visiting Teachers plans within the next three years to place visiting teachers in at least 30 cities in which this particular form of social service has not hitherto been available. Two-thirds of the salaries of these teachers will be paid over a period of three years by the Commonwealth Fund, and one-third by the community making application. Choice of places for the demonstration will be made and teachers will be chosen and supervised by the National Committee on Visiting Teachers. Miss Jane Culbert, staff executive of visiting teachers for the Public Education Association, will be field representative of the Committee.

The third cooperating agency, the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, has created a new division on the Prevention of Delinquency, of which Dr. V. V. Anderson has been made director, which will demonstrate the value of psychiatric clinics in juvenile courts by sending out to courts requesting it, a travelling clinic staffed with a psychiatrist, a psychologist and a psychiatric social worker. One clinic of this sort is already at work in the St. Louis Juvenile Court. The psychiatric work in the Monmouth County Demonstration of Child Welfare is also under the direction of this Division.

The Joint Committee on Delinquency, under the directorship



of Arthur W. Towne, has been formed to coordinate the activities of the three agencies sharing in the program and to analyze and publish the results of their work and of other activities in the same field. Miss Mabel Brown Ellis, formerly with the National Child Labor Committee, is now a special representative with the Joint Committee.

The Commonwealth Fund has made an initial appropriation of \$165,950 for the expenses of the first year and plans to carry on the work for at least five years. It will not necessarily confine itself to the program as here outlined, but may consider other constructive means of demonstrating the possibility of decreasing the volume of adult delinquency by better understanding and wiser treatment of the school child.

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### Negro Women in Tobacco Factories

In a study of eighty-five of the negro women working in the tobacco factories of Virginia, made by Emma L. Shields of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, cases were found where these women had gone to work between the ages of 8 and 12; had rehandled tobacco (entailing breathing of quantities of dust and moving heavy weights) for thirty years or more, going to work at 6:30 A.M. even in winter, and returning at 7 P.M., very often; worked for considerable stretches 10 hours a day and 55 hours a week, and got only \$11 or \$12 for all this drudgery.

Twenty-one of the eighty-five women had never gone to school, twelve of them dropped out in the second grade, seven left in the third, twenty-one went no further than the fourth grade, and only three finished high school. In season, 72 per cent earned less than \$12, 19 per cent less than \$9, and only one woman received over \$16. These women had been tobacco workers for periods ranging from six months to forty-two years. Thirteen women had worked more than thirty years. Over 42 per cent had been working since 12 years of age or younger. At the time of the study, 58 per cent were working a 55-hour week, 38 per cent a 50-hour week. There was also frequent overtime work so that the working week was often much longer.

As for home conditions, 66 per cent had to take complete care of their homes themselves; and 30 per cent attended to their homes



before and after work. Many of them are not only handicapped by lack of funds but by their manifold duties of earning money, keeping house and caring for the sick members of the family. The mothers send their children to work just as soon as the law allows. Some of the results of this sort of family life are summed up by Miss Shields:

"Life in each generation was bounded on all sides by the same influences. In the factory, nothing elevating or improving was afforded the workers; home influences were no better, for the wages were so low that the workers were forced to select the poorest of homes in localities so undesirable and unhealthful that the environment naturally would react on the lives of the persons within it. There thus resulted a class consciousness among those workers, which was expressed in their suspicion of other groups, their concentration on their own interests and their maladjustment to the communities in which they lived."

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### Health Examination of Working Children

The Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries is publishing a form for use in the examination of children applying for employment certificates. This form covers the main points given in the one recommended by the Children's Bureau, but is much less detailed. The Department recommends that school physicians assigned to examining children for health certificates use this schedule. Copies will be furnished on application.

At the present time there is no standard form for this purpose in use in the State. A few physicians have their own records; but in the majority of instances no form is used, so no permanent record is kept. It is important that the results of the examination should be recorded and kept on file in the office from which the employment certificate is issued. By this means it is possible, when the child returns for another certificate, to check the examination with the result of the previous one, to ascertain whether defects noted at the former time have been corrected, and to secure some information as to the effect of the work on the child's health.

A standard form for all issuing offices is desirable, in order that there may be greater uniformity in practice throughout the State, and in order to insure that the examination made covers all the essential requirements. It is hoped that the use of the proposed schedule

will assist in bringing about these results and will secure a more thorough and careful examination of children applying for employment certificates than is the case at the present time. The Department is also preparing a handbook explaining the procedure in issuing employment and health certificates and badges for street trades. This will contain a section on the health certification of working children, with reproduction of the new forms.

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### **Child Health Demonstration**

The Child Health Demonstration, under the auspices of the National Child Health Council, of which the National Child Labor Committee is a member, is proceeding according to plans already described in the *AMERICAN CHILD*. The locality selected was Mansfield, Ohio, with Richland County, of which Mansfield is the county seat. The Council chose as director of the demonstration, Dr. Walter H. Brown, who began work in October, 1921. The staff on January 1, 1922, consisted of a statistician, a nurse, and a health education director.

An Advisory Council, representing the leading professional, business and labor groups in the community, has been formed, to assume the community's responsibility for its part in this national experiment. Among those who have joined forces in cordial support of this undertaking are the Board of Health, the Medical Society, the dentists, the various social agencies, the schools, the hospitals, and, in fact, all agencies and organizations which can assist in an active or advisory capacity. The appointment by the Board of Education of a staff member of the demonstration as director of health education in the public schools and similar close relationships with the county educational authorities are examples of the excellent co-operation developed so far.

One of the next important steps will be a fairly comprehensive study of health conditions in the city and county.

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### **Survey in Erie County, New York**

That there should be better relations between the field representatives of national organizations who serve the communities and states of the nation has been a patent fact for some time but hitherto

little has been done about it. In recent years, however, there has been a marked broadening and extension of the activities and contacts of many national associations and agencies. This has made it increasingly important, from the point of view of both the communities served and of state and national organizations, that this difficult question of co-ordination in field work shall receive practical consideration. The organizations composing the National Child Health Council welcome particularly the interest of state and local representatives in this problem, and believe that the whole matter should be studied in the light of the community's own needs.

In Erie County, New York, at the instance of the National Child Health Council, a step was recently taken toward the development of a valid plan of field co-ordination. Seven national and two state agencies joined, in December, 1921, over a period of two weeks, in a co-operative inquiry into conditions relating to child health. This was undertaken upon the joint invitation of practically every public and private agency interested in the health of children of Erie County and with the friendly co-operation of the State Departments of Health and Education. This study has been completed and a tentative report of it has been prepared. It is primarily directed to the purpose of assisting in the development of strong and correlated efforts for meeting local problems relating to the health of children. It was not intended as an exhaustive or even a thoroughly comprehensive survey. The fact that it was carried out with the successful co-operation of the organizations participating in it is one of the chief points of interest from the standpoint of national co-ordination. It is a first step in plans for the development of the best methods of relating national organizations to one another and to state agencies in their service, in the interests of the local communities.

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#### BREVITIES

Active preparations are under way for the meeting in Rio de Janeiro, of the Third Pan-American Congress of Child Welfare, which will take place August 27th to September 5, 1922, in connection with the official program commemorating the centenary of Brazilian independence. It should be noted that the sessions of the First Brazil-



ian Child Welfare Convention will be held conjointly with those of the Pan-American Congress.—*Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*, April, 1922.

Social service now has a professional organization in the American Association of Social Workers, 130 East 22d Street. Since the National Conference of Social Work in Milwaukee last spring the members of this Association, formerly the National Social Workers Exchange, have been developing a program similar in purpose to that of the American Medical Association, the American Bar Association and the Engineering societies. Between fifteen and thirty thousand people in the United States are engaged in some kind of professional social service.

In the Year Book and Annual Report of the Playground and Recreation Association of America appear some interesting "Recreation Facts," referring to the year 1921: 502 cities report 4,584 centers under paid leadership; the largest number since the Year Book has been published. Eleven thousand and seventy-nine workers were employed to direct play at these centers. Fifty-one cities report playgrounds and recreation centers established for the first time. Two hundred and forty-four cities report work supported entirely by municipal funds. Fifty-three cities report playgrounds donated; eighteen of this number placing the value of the property at \$1,182,700. Nearly \$9,000,000 was spent for recreation by 458 cities.

A large group of men and women prominent in social work and public affairs attended on April 25th a dinner given as a tribute to Dr. S. Josephine Baker, who has headed the Bureau of Child Hygiene in the New York City Department of Health since the creation of the Bureau in 1908. Miss Lillian D. Wald concludes a sketch and appreciation of Dr. Baker in *The Survey* with these words: "It is pleasant to record the importance of the task accomplished and the quality of the service rendered by Dr. Baker, and the recognition of it at this time when her ardor is unabated and her vigor undiminished—when we can hopefully anticipate twenty more years (at least) of service to the children and through them a brighter future."

The Fiftieth Anniversary of the New York State Charities Aid Association will be observed by meetings in New York City May

11th and 12th. Colonel Homer Folks, Vice-Chairman of the National Child Labor Committee, has been Secretary of the Association for twenty-nine years.

Raymond G. Fuller, of the staff of the National Child Labor Committee, has been appointed a member of the special committee on rural school attendance, Department of Rural Education, National Education Association.

An increase of 8 per cent in the average daily school attendance throughout the State of Pennsylvania and of 3.67 per cent in regularity of attendance as compared with the records of last year is reported by the director of the attendance bureau of the Department of Public Instruction. This is due to better enforcement of the compulsory education laws.—*Pittsburgh Press*, March 26, 1922.

An inquiry into the conditions of labor for young workers from 15 to 18 years of age and the adequacy of existing provisions for their physical, intellectual, and moral development, is to be made by the Finnish Parliament. The object of the inquiry is to obtain data with a view to legislative measures for the protection of young persons.—*Industrial and Labour Information*, International Labour Office, March 10, 1922.

A National Child Labor Committee benefit, including an artists' concert, bazaar and tea in the afternoon and a dance with specialties in the evening was arranged at the Carroll Club, New York City, for April nineteenth. The Club was turned over to the Committee for the entire day through the courtesy of Mrs. Evelyn Tobey, Director. The artists giving their services for the afternoon's program were: Miss Julia Arthur, in recitations; Madame Alma Clayburgh, soprano; Miss Beatrice Herford, in monologues; Mr. Bronislaw Huberman, violin; Miss Esther Rhoades, harp; Miss Dorothy Smoller, dance; and Miss Laurette Taylor, with her leading man, Mr. Frank Thomas, in a "One Word Sketch." At the dance in the evening, Miss Smoller and Miss Rhoades appeared again. Patronesses of the Concert and Dance were: Mrs. Schuyler Warren, Chairman; Mrs. Harold Henderson, Mrs. Charles T. Hirsch, Mrs. Outerbridge Horsey, Mrs. John D. Ryan, Mrs. Elisha Walker, Mrs. C. B. Wyatt.

A special matinee performance of "Aida" was given at the Metropolitan Opera House, New York City, on Thursday, April 6, as a benefit for the National Child Labor Committee. The title role of the opera was sung by Claudia Muzio, Manuel Salazar sang the role of Radames, Jeanne Gordon took the part of Amneris, and Guiseppe De Luca sang Amonasro.

Immediate work for the Sheppard-Towner Act in every state of the Union is to be the principal work on Child Welfare of the National League of Women Voters in the coming year. State measures which will be worked for in states which are ready for such action will be in harmony with the recommendations of the "Minimum Standards for Child Welfare" adopted by the Children's Bureau Conference of 1919, with particular emphasis upon state school attendance and child labor laws.

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#### PRAYER

God though this life is but a wraith,  
Although we know not what we use,  
Although we grope with little faith,  
Give me the heart to fight—and lose.

Ever insurgent let me be,  
Make me more daring than devout;  
From sleek contentment keep me free,  
And fill me with a buoyant doubt.

Open my eyes to visions girt  
With beauty, and with wonder lit—  
But let me always see the dirt,  
And all that spawn and die in it.

Open my ears to music; let  
Me thrill with Spring's first flutes and drums—  
But never let me dare forget  
The bitter ballads of the slums.

From compromise and things half done,  
Keep me, with stern and stubborn pride,  
And when, at last, the fight is won,  
God keep me still unsatisfied.

—*Louis Untermeyer.*



## **The American Child**

**A Journal of Constructive Democracy**

**Published Quarterly**

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### *Associate Editors*

**CLARA SEEGER CARPENTER**

**HARRIET BOND SKIDMORE**

### *Contributing Editors*

**CHARLES E. GIBBONS**

**WILEY H. SWIFT**

Yearly subscription, four issues, two dollars. Single copies fifty cents.

### *Address:*

**NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE**  
105 East 22nd Street - - New York City

## **Contributors to this Issue**

George A. Hall is executive secretary of the New York State Commission to Examine Laws Relating to Child Welfare.

Ethel M. Johnson is Assistant Commissioner, Department of Labor and Industries, Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Madeleine Hunt Appel is acting secretary of the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee.

Raymond G. Fuller, of the staff of the National Child Labor Committee, is author of forthcoming books on "The Meaning of Child Labor" and "The Right to Childhood."

## INTERNATIONAL CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION

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RAYMOND G. FULLER

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The third general conference of the International Labor Organization of the League of Nations was held at Geneva last fall. We have received the official texts of the draft conventions which were adopted and bore reference to the employment of children. These draft conventions will be submitted for ratification to the legislatures of the several countries comprising the League of Nations, and will come into force, as between the ratifying nations, at the day on which the ratification of two member nations of the International Labor Organization have been registered by the Secretary-General.

One of the most interesting and significant of the draft conventions adopted at Geneva is that concerning the admission of children to employment in agriculture.

Article I provides as follows: "Children under the age of fourteen years may not be employed or work in any public or private agricultural undertaking, or in any branch thereof, save outside the hours of school attendance. If they are employed outside the hours of school attendance, the employment shall not be such as to cause prejudice to their attendance at school."

Articles II and III read: "For the purpose of practical vocational instruction the periods of the hours of school attendance may be so arranged as to permit the employment of children on light agricultural work and in particular on light work connected with the harvest provided that such employment shall not reduce the total annual period of school attendance to less than eight months."

"The provisions of Article I shall not apply to work done by children in technical schools, provided that such work is approved and supervised by public authority."

The Labor Conference also adopted several "recommendations" relating to agriculture. One of them is: "That each Member of the International Labor Organization endeavor to develop vocational agricultural education and in particular to make such education

available to agricultural wage-earners on the same conditions as to other persons engaged in agriculture."

The Conference further recommended:

"I. That the Members of the International Labor Organization take steps to regulate the employment of children under the age of 14 years in agricultural undertakings during the night in such a way as to insure to them a period of rest compatible with their physical necessities and consisting of not less than 10 consecutive hours.

"II. That the Members of the International Labor Organization take steps to regulate the employment of young persons between the ages of 14 and 18 years in agricultural undertakings during the night in such a way as to insure to them a period of rest compatible with their physical necessities and consisting of not less than 9 consecutive hours.

Also—"That each Member of the International Labor Organization take measures to insure to women wage-earners employed in agricultural undertakings protection before and after childbirth similar to that provided by the Draft Convention adopted by the International Labor Conference at Washington for women employed in industry and commerce, and that such measures should include the right to a period of absence from work before and after childbirth and to a grant of benefit during the said period, provided either out of public funds or by means of a system of insurance."

A draft convention was adopted fixing the minimum age for the admission of young persons to employment as trimmers or stokers on vessels:

"Article I. For the purpose of this Convention, the term 'vessel' includes all ships and boats, of any nature whatsoever, engaged in maritime navigation, whether publicly or privately owned; it excludes ships of war.

"Article II. Young persons under the age of eighteen years shall not be employed or work on vessels as trimmers or stokers.

"Article III. The provisions of Article II shall not apply:

(a) to work done by young persons on school-ships or training-ships, provided that such work is approved and supervised by public authority;

(b) to the employment of young persons on vessels mainly propelled by other means than steam;



(c) to young persons of not less than sixteen years of age, who if found physically fit after medical examination, may be employed as trimmers or stokers on vessels exclusively engaged in the costal trade of India and of Japan, subject to regulations made after consultation with the most representative organizations of employers and workers in those countries.

"Article IV. When a trimmer or stoker is required in a port where young persons of less than eighteen years of age only are available, such young persons may be employed, and in that case it shall be necessary to engage two young persons in place of the trimmer or stoker required. Such young persons shall be at least sixteen years of age.

"Article V. In order to facilitate the enforcement of the provisions of this Convention, every shipmaster shall be required to keep a register of all persons under the age of eighteen years employed on board his vessel, or a list of them in the articles of agreement, and of the dates of their births."

Still another of the draft conventions adopted provides that:

"The employment of any child or young person under 18 years of age on any vessel other than vessels upon which only members of the same family are employed, shall be conditional on the production of a medical certificate attesting fitness for such work, signed by a doctor who shall be approved by the competent authority.

"The continued employment at sea of any such child or young person shall be subject to the repetition of such medical examination at intervals of not more than one year, and the production, after each such examination, of a further medical certificate attesting fitness for such work. Should a medical certificate expire in the course of a voyage, it shall remain in force until the end of the said voyage.

"In urgent cases, the competent authority may allow a young person below the age of 18 to embark without having undergone the examination provided for in Articles II and III of this Convention, always provided that such an examination shall be undergone at the first port at which the vessel calls."

It will be remembered that, at the second International Labor Conference, held at Genoa in 1920, a draft convention was adopted providing that: "Children under the age of 14 years shall not be employed or work on vessels other than vessels upon which only

members of the same family are employed." This restriction was not to apply to work done by children on school-ships or training-ships if such work were approved and supervised by public authority.

In Washington in 1919, where the first International Labor Conference was held, a draft convention was adopted applying to the admission of children in industrial undertakings: "Children under the age of 14 years shall not be employed or work in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed." The term "industrial undertaking" was lengthily defined in the draft convention, which was published in full in the *AMERICAN CHILD* for November, 1919. Incorporated in the provisions of the Convention were several special modifications applying separately to Japan and to India.

The Washington Conference adopted a draft convention concerning the night work of young persons employed in industry, providing that—"Young persons under eighteen years of age shall not be employed during the night in any public or private industrial undertaking, or in any branch thereof, other than an undertaking in which only members of the same family are employed, except as hereinafter provided for.

"Young persons over the age of sixteen may be employed during the night in the following industrial undertakings on work which by reason of the nature of the process, is required to be carried on continuously day and night:

(a) Manufacture of iron and steel; processes in which reverberatory or regenerative furnaces are used, and galvanizing of sheet metal or wire (except the pickling process).

(b) Glass works.

(c) Manufacture of paper.

(d) Manufacture of raw sugar.

(e) Gold mining reduction work."

There was also a recommendation that, "in view of the danger involved to the function of maternity and to the physical development of children, women and young persons under the age of eighteen years be excluded from employment" in certain enumerated processes involving the danger of lead poisoning.

The following members of the League of Nations have passed acts providing for the ratification of, or giving effect to, the Wash-



ington draft convention fixing the minimum age for admission of children to industrial employment: British Columbia, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Great Britain, Greece, Roumania.

The Washington Convention relating to night work of young persons has been adopted by: British Columbia, Belgium, Denmark, Great Britain, Greece, Roumania.

Bills are known to have been introduced providing for the ratification or giving effect to both of these Washington draft conventions in Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Chile, Denmark, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain and Switzerland. Germany has a bill fixing the minimum age in accordance with the draft convention, and Poland a bill concerning night work of young persons. Some of these countries have adopted one or both of these draft conventions, but their action had not, at last accounts, been officially reported to the office of the International Labor Organization.

Great Britain, Germany, Italy and Sweden have passed measures ratifying or giving effect to the Genoa draft convention fixing the minimum age for admission of children to employment at sea. Bills designed to the same end have been introduced in France, Poland, the Netherlands and India. (We are using the terms "bill" and "introduced" in a generic sense to indicate the initial steps in the various countries toward the formal and final ratifications of the Conference.)

It should be noted that although the first International Labor Conference was held in Washington and the International Labor Office has an American correspondent (Mr. Ernest Greenwood, 618 Seventeenth Street, Washington), the United States is not a member of the League of Nations and therefore, of course, does not participate in the affairs of the International Labor Organization as a member nation. Quite apart from the question of membership in the League of Nations, if it is a question now, America's participation in international labor agreements is subject to serious limitations due to our form of government—both constitutional and traditional limitations. In all our agreements with other nations, we must act as a nation; but in labor legislation we commonly, and for the most part necessarily, act as separate states. We are not sure of the constitutionality of the federal child labor law—and if it stands the test, it sets up only a few standards for only a few occupations, going about as far, however, as circumstances permit.



## NOTABLE GAINS IN NEW YORK'S CHILD WELFARE LAWS

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GEORGE A. HALL

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The record of the New York Legislature of 1922 was a significant one with respect to child-welfare legislation as well as in other ways. Two factors entered into the adoption of an unusual amount of forward-looking legislation relating to children. First and foremost, credit should be given to the continuous personal attention shown by Governor Miller to legislation of this character. His unflagging interest in constructive measures to improve the condition of the children of the state, particularly those found under unfortunate conditions, was an inspiration to the legislators and to all having to do with these child-welfare bills. In his message to the legislature early in January, Governor Miller in clear-cut and definite manner outlined a specific program of such legislation, practically all of which was passed.

Another factor entering into the enactment of important children's laws at the recent session was the activity of the New York State Commission to Examine Laws Relating to Child Welfare.\* Acting in close co-operation with the Governor, this Commission was responsible for the drafting of some of the more important bills enacted. Other measures drafted by officials or by groups connected with work for children were adopted by the Commission as a part of its program. Of the twelve bills fathered by this Commission of which Senator Charles W. Walton is Chairman, all were passed by the senate and five by both houses. The remainder were unfortunately killed by the rules committee of the assembly during the closing days of the session.

### THE CHILDREN'S COURT ACT

Perhaps the most important of the new laws, because of its far-reaching effect, is the children's court act. This measure, drafted

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\*Copies of Preliminary Report of the Commission to the legislature of 1922, may be obtained on application to the Executive Secretary, 137 East 22nd St., New York City.

by the Child Welfare Commission, provides for the establishment of county children's courts to hear cases of child offenders and neglect.

For years an increasing amount of dissatisfaction has been noticeable among those especially concerned with helping delinquent and neglected children because of the failure of the present court machinery in up-state counties to meet adequately their needs. Especially has this been true in the rural sections of the state where such children are brought before local justices of the peace. At the present time more than thirty-seven hundred of these courts have the power to take children from their homes and commit them as public charges.

While sometimes one finds among these officials men who show a sympathetic and constructive interest in the children arraigned before them, unfortunately such justices are the exception rather than the rule. Official and private investigations have conclusively indicated the unfitness of many of them to handle the delicate situations involved in the trial of children charged with delinquency or who lack proper guardianship. Most of these justices are untrained in the law and lack the qualifications needed in officials upon whom rests the responsibility of working out a plan for providing for some neglected child or for one who has gone wrong less through any fault of his own than through the failure of the community to meet properly his natural desires for self expression.

Three counties of the State—Monroe, Ontario and Chautauqua—became sufficiently aroused over the inadequacy of such a system to obtain, through special legislation, authority to establish county children's courts. Under these laws, while children may be arrested and brought before a justice of peace or a police court justice as before, he must at once transfer such cases to the county children's court.

Both the Governor and the Child Welfare Commission recommended the enactment of a law giving other counties the benefit of similar children's courts. Indeed, such action was felt to be incumbent upon the legislature in view of the overwhelming vote last November approving the constitutional amendment authorizing the legislature to enact laws to permit the establishment of separate children's courts with broad equity powers. The Commission bill, which became a law (chapter 547 of the laws of 1922) provides, in brief, that separate children's courts shall be established in all coun-



ties outside the city of New York, Buffalo and Syracuse, and also outside the counties now operating under special acts. A judge must be chosen at the next general election as children's court judge unless the board of supervisors certifies that the county judge will be able to take over the added duties. The court is given jurisdiction over all neglected and delinquent children, and over adults who contribute to the delinquency of children. It also is to have the same jurisdiction as is now vested in county courts over bastardy proceedings, in the appointment of guardians and in adoption proceedings. Complete machinery is provided for setting up a separate children's court, including the probation service so necessary to insure its success. In general, the court is similar to the courts now in operation in the three counties mentioned, but the bill provides additional highly desirable powers and privileges not granted those courts.

As Governor Miller well stated in his message to the legislature in January: "The vote on the constitutional amendment was an expression of public disapproval of the present system or lack of system of dealing with neglected and delinquent children. Juvenile delinquency should be dealt with in accordance with the condition and needs of the child, not under the penal law or in accordance with the rules of criminal procedure." The enactment of the Commission bill on the subject marks a long step forward in making possible proper treatment of child offenders and neglected children in all portions of the state.

#### CHANGES IN POOR RELIEF SYSTEM

An important change also was made in the law governing the administration of mothers' allowances. Since 1915 such allowances have been administered generally by county boards of child welfare. At the present time such boards grant these allowances in forty-seven counties, but in Dutchess and Suffolk counties they are administered through boards of child welfare handled under special statute and in Westchester county they are handled under special statute through its department of public welfare as a part of its child-caring work. Boards of child welfare appointed in eleven counties are unable to grant allowances for lack of appropriations, and in one county no board has been appointed.

Information submitted to the Child Welfare Commission indi-



cated that there was a growing demand in favor of unifying the care of various classes of children in need of public aid. Instead of administering relief to the poor through county superintendents of the poor and town overseers of the poor, mothers' allowances through boards of child welfare and other forms of public aid through still different agencies, it was felt that these lines of similar activity should be combined under one agency. Especially was this feeling strong on the part of county boards of supervisors which provide funds for these agencies. A merger of these interests has already been tried out in two counties—Dutchess and Suffolk—where a new type of child welfare board assumes the care of all dependent, neglected, delinquent and defective children in need of public assistance, outside of the courts.

Governor Miller, in the message previously mentioned, urged attention to this subject in the following language: "Our laws dealing with dependent children are in a chaotic condition. There are 1,238 town, county and city officials having jurisdiction over children. More than 20,000 children come in one way or another under the jurisdiction of the poor law officials each year. The powers and duties of such officials are not clearly defined."

The Commission was a unit in favor of combining under one agency at least a portion of the duties relating to dependent children. Conferences with officials of existing county child-welfare boards, poor law officials and other interested agencies, showed much difference of opinion with respect to how far it was wise to go at this time towards unifying the county care of all dependent children and with respect to the agency which should assume these duties.

After extensive consideration of the entire subject, the Commission determined that it would be unwise at present to set up a new agency for this work, and therefore recommended that the county boards of child welfare be given additional powers which should include the duties now exercised by poor law officials in relation to the care of dependent children who become public charges, and also the authority to receive children who may be committed by the court. The Commission regards the enactment of this bill (chapter 546 of the laws of 1922) as a first step in the logical unification of all such activities in each county. While a permissive statute, in harmony with the recommendation of the Governor, it is believed that the law offers an effective opportunity for trying out the new plan.

### DEAF AND DUMB CHILDREN

Both Governor Miller and the Child Welfare Commission were impressed with the anomalous situation found in the existing law governing the granting of public aid to deaf and dumb children and therefore recommended remedial legislation on this subject. Under provisions of the education law, prior to the last session of the Legislature, deaf and dumb children otherwise eligible could be educated in institutions at state expense only after reaching the age of twelve. Those under twelve years of age, if they were to be given the advantages of such educational facilities as their condition required, in one of the private institutions established for that purpose, must be granted their appointment as county charges by local poor law officials. This distinction appeared to the Commission manifestly an unnecessary discrimination and a more just arrangement seemed to be that deaf and dumb children should be made as the blind children now are—the specific beneficiaries of the state for educational purposes without regard to age. A bill was drafted in harmony with the views of the state department of education and the state board of charities, and approved by the Commission (chapter 327 of the laws of 1922). It provides that hereafter deaf and dumb children five years of age and upward shall be eligible for appointment as state pupils at state expense in one of the institutions authorized by law for the deaf and dumb.

### ISSUANCE OF EMPLOYMENT PAPERS

It will be recalled that the legislature of 1921 transferred the duty of issuing employment certificates to children from local health officers to the school authorities, and provided detailed procedure to govern the manner in which this work should be done. In the administration of this law by school officials, certain defects were found which needed to be corrected. The department of labor also pointed out provisions which in its opinion militated against efficient inspection work by that department. After conference between officials of the state departments interested, and with representatives of private organizations particularly concerned with this subject, amendments were adopted to correct these defects which will, it is believed, materially aid in making the law work more smoothly.

Under the new law (chapter 464 of the laws of 1922), the present procedure for issuing employment certificates is changed, so that all



the preliminaries for obtaining an employment certificate must be met before the child goes to the prospective employer for a pledge of employment and only the bare issuance of the certificate remains to be done.

A new employment certificate for agricultural work only may be issued in the name of the child instead of in the name of the employer and may be used for successive employers, each of whom is required to endorse on the back of the certificate the beginning and ending of the term of employment and the character of work performed by such minor. A similar new provision applies to vacation certificates which are limited to a period of not more than five months.

#### OTHER MEASURES PASSED

Considering bills affecting children introduced from other sources, the administration measure to safeguard motherhood and protect the health of infants and children is of outstanding importance (chapter 402 of the laws of 1922). This bill, frankly advocated by Governor Miller as an offset to a similar proposal which was drawn to enable New York State to participate in the benefits of the Sheppard-Towner federal maternity aid law, was prepared to authorize the state department of health to conduct an extensive campaign on this subject independent of federal funds and supervision. The law appropriates \$130,000 which, with the \$30,000 previously granted in the budget of the state department of health for child hygiene purposes, will place at the disposal of the health department the same amount of money which might have accrued through participation in the Sheppard-Towner law. The present bureau of child hygiene in the department of health is merged in a new division of maternity, infancy, and child hygiene. Among its powers and duties the law provides that the division shall exercise the following:

Making surveys and studies of local conditions influencing the health of mothers and children.

Advising localities as to providing adequate care of mothers and infants, and children to whom such care is not otherwise available.

Holding health consultations for mothers and children in the rural districts in co-operation with local health officers and other physicians.



Instructing local public health nurses in the hygiene of maternity and infancy.

Making available to mothers through instruction by physicians, nurses and publications, information concerning the hygiene of maternity and infancy.

Supervision and training of midwives.

Prevention of blindness in infancy.

The care and rehabilitation of crippled children not otherwise provided for.

Public instruction by means of moving pictures, and lectures and other methods regarding preventable conditions affecting infant and maternity deaths.

Several other bills relating to young persons became law, of which space will only permit a brief description. In 1921 the domestic relations law was amended in spite of opposition from many agencies to permit under certain conditions the superintendent of a hospital in whose care an illegitimate child has been given by its mother for purposes of adoption, to give consent to the adoption of such a child. This provision was further amended by the last legislature (chapter 628 of the laws of 1922) to provide additional limitations under which such work may be done and to require reports to the state board of charities. While the new law is a slight improvement, in the opinion of many persons interested in this work, it is felt that it does not get at the root of the evil, the eradication of which would mean the complete repeal of the provision granting hospital superintendents such authority.

A bill amending the prison law (chapter 645 of the laws of 1922) provides that a child born to an inmate of a prison shall not be returned to the institution in which the mother is confined unless it be a reformatory, and the officer in charge may upon proper proof being furnished by the father or other relative of their ability to care for and maintain the child, give such child into the care and custody of the father or other relative; otherwise such officer shall place the child in charge of the proper poor law officer.

Another amendment to the domestic relations law affects marriages of persons under eighteen years of age. Heretofore if an action to annul a marriage on this ground was instituted, the court had no other recourse but to order such marriage annulled. The new amendment (chapter 313 of the laws of 1922) provides that the annul-

ment shall be in the discretion of the court, which shall take into consideration all the facts and circumstances surrounding such marriage.

A number of other laws were also enacted affecting children in relation to penal and civil proceedings in courts.

Among the Child Welfare Commission bills which failed of enactment were the following:

A bill, introduced at the request of the New York Child Labor Committee, to restrict to forty-eight hours a week the employment of minors sixteen to eighteen years of age.

A bill, introduced at the request of the New York Child Labor Committee, to authorize local school superintendents to retain in school until their sixteenth birthday, fifteen-year-old children who have not completed an eight-year elementary school course.

Two bills, introduced at the request of the state department of education, to provide courses of study for training apprentices and establishing the necessary machinery therefor.

A bill to repeal various provisions in various laws, legalizing the binding out of children under indentures.

Two measures to permit granting allowances to mothers where fathers are physically disabled or have been in a state prison under a minimum sentence of at least two years.

Another measure authorizing boards of child welfare to grant an allowance to the lawful guardian of children of a mother otherwise eligible who are not within care or custody of mother by reason of her death, insanity, or temporary illness, was approved by the legislature but vetoed by the Governor.

In preparation for the legislative session of 1923, the Child Welfare Commission is making a careful study of the laws relating to children to see what further constructive changes may be desirable in order to make them protect better the interests of children, and also to rewrite, wherever deemed necessary, certain of the laws or parts thereof with a view to simplifying their language, eliminating obsolete or duplicate material and generally clarifying the provisions.

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The tragedy of all great cities is the tragedy of the child-life of the slums.—  
—Robert W. Mackenna, in *"The Adventures of Life."*

## THE SCHOOL-AGE CAMPAIGN IN MASSACHUSETTS

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MADELEINE HUNT APPEL

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The campaign to raise the age for compulsory school attendance from fourteen to sixteen in Massachusetts was renewed during the present session of the Legislature by a number of organizations, including the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee. As a result of the interest which has been aroused in the question the auditorium of the State House was well filled when House Bill No. 611 was heard before the Committee on Education on February twenty-first.

The proponents presented a mass of material in support of the measure. Because of their age and meagre education the openings for children who leave school at fourteen are limited for the most part to unskilled jobs with little or no future. Moreover, they drift from one position to another often with weeks of unemployment intervening. A study made by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee of the working history of 324 Boston children shows that one-half of the terminated jobs had been held for less than three months.

This drifting existence is not the best kind of life for adolescent boys and girls, who are especially in need of the stabilizing influence of the school. A study of the Boston court records of fourteen and fifteen-year-old children for 1920 revealed the fact that there was proportionately six times as much delinquency among children who had left school as among children who were still in school.

Material was also presented to show the effects upon health of allowing children to enter industry at the critical age of adolescence. According to a government report the death rate for cotton-mill operatives between fifteen and nineteen is 80 per cent to 95 per cent greater than for non-operatives. This is especially significant in view of the fact that 39 per cent of Massachusetts' 43,000 working children are employed in textile mills. Medical experts appointed by the Children's Bureau state that because of the physiological and



psychological readjustments which make special demands upon the vitality of the child during adolescence, "it is of paramount importance that he should be protected . . . from the physical and nervous strain which entrance into industry inevitably entails."

The Arkwright Club, the textile manufacturers' organization, opposed the measure vigorously, claiming that the industry was in a serious condition. Data subsequently given out by the Labor Bureau, however, show that the earnings of Fall River mills were at the rate of 11 per cent per annum during the first part of the current year. The counsel for the Associated Industries admitted that industry could adjust itself to the change, but thought that it should not be made until the schools were equipped to offer courses suited to the needs of these children. This idea was expressed also by several school men, although 71 per cent of the superintendents who replied to a questionnaire favored the measure, 55 per cent unqualifiedly and 16 per cent with reservations. Readjustments in the school system must necessarily follow rather than precede such legislation.

Others opposed the bill because of the insufficiency of school buildings and the increased expense to local communities, but information secured by the Massachusetts Child Labor Committee showed that the legislation would not necessitate any new buildings in 69 per cent of the cities and towns of the state and that in an additional 14 per cent the building cost would be less than \$25,000. For the annual support of the schools the increase in cost would be less than 6 per cent. The former United States Commissioner of Education writes in a recent article that "*doubling* the total of all expenditures for public schools (in Massachusetts) in 1920 would have added one dollar only in ten to the total of all taxes for that year," so a 6 per cent increase in the tax rate would be almost negligible.

The Committee on Education was divided upon the bill, but finally rendered an adverse report on March 29, with six of the committee members dissenting.

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Nations, like individuals, live not by bread alone.—Henry C. Wallace.

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"A nation is a host of men united by some God-begotten mood, some hope of liberty or dream of power or beauty or justice or brotherhood."

# SHORTCOMINGS IN CHILD PROTECTION

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ETHEL M. JOHNSON

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Massachusetts holds a prominent place in labor legislation, and especially in legislation for the protection of women and children. Our child labor law has in the past been a model for other states. Both in the enactment and in the enforcement of such measures, Massachusetts holds an enviable rank. Much, however, remains to be done. There are many conditions which require correction. We have children as young as those in the Western beet fields working in our own onion and tobacco fields. In many of our cities and towns, the street trades regulations are not well enforced. We have a high accident rate among our working children, and an exceedingly high morbidity and mortality rate among juvenile operatives in our textile mills.

We are falling behind some of the more progressive states in our age standards for working children. We have already fallen behind in our educational standards. Up to a few years ago we permitted boys and girls of fourteen to leave school for work if they could meet the fourth grade requirements in reading, writing and spelling. That is barely literacy. And at the present time our requirements in this respect are only ability to meet the tests for completion of the sixth grade. A number of states make the eighth grade the minimum requirement. We have within the last year or two established continuation schools throughout the state for working children fourteen to sixteen years of age. In several states, however, including New York, continuation school attendance is required of all working children up to the age of eighteen years, and for eight hours a week, in comparison to our four hour minimum.

We deceive ourselves if we think that industry, to any appreciable extent, can offer training to the thousands of children that it annually receives. The apprenticeship system, where work and education were combined, where the work meant real vocational training, belongs to a period of the past. We are now in a highly developed era, an era of the machine, when the demand is not for the craftsman, but for the workman, who supplies, not so much brain and skill as labor power. Children are wanted, not as novices to learn a trade, but as



so many nimble fingers to perform one monotonous process over and over again, or as so many arms and legs to carry and trot. Of the children under sixteen who go to work, nearly nine-tenths enter occupations that have little or no educational value. Of the forty thousand child workers between fourteen and sixteen years of age in this State, over one-third are employed in textile mills at such simple processes as sweeping, doffing, or as general helpers. The next largest group work for stores, wrapping bundles, delivering goods, or running errands. Job shifting is very frequent among the younger workers. A study made by the Children's Bureau showed that in Boston approximately one-half of the children of this age change their positions every six months, or oftener.

Here in Massachusetts we endeavor to safeguard the child fourteen to sixteen years of age who is about to enter industry, by requiring him to meet certain minimum standards as to age, education and physical fitness. He must, before he is permitted to leave school to go to work, secure an employment certificate. He must present proof that he is at least fourteen years of age, and that he has attended school for 130 days since his thirteenth birthday. He must prove that he can meet the requirements for completion of the sixth grade. He must present an employer's pledge or promise to employ him in a specific occupation in accordance with the provisions of the child labor law. In addition, he must present a certificate signed by a physician, stating that the physician has thoroughly examined him, and that in his opinion the child is in sufficiently sound health and physically able to perform the work for which he is applying.

We try to protect the child after he has entered industry by restricting the occupations and processes at which he may be employed. There is a long list of employments prohibited for minors under sixteen years of age. In general, these are employments which have distinct health or accident or moral hazards. We try to protect the working children by regulating the hours and other conditions of their employment. We say that children under sixteen, with certain exceptions, may not work more than eight hours in any one day, or more than forty-eight hours a week, or more than six days a week, or before half past six o'clock in the morning or after six o'clock in the evening.

There are, however, practical difficulties and limitations in affording this intended protection. First, with respect to the protection



given to the child about to enter industry. The examination, which is to determine whether the child is well enough and strong enough to go to work and to engage in a particular kind of work, in the great majority of instances fails to accomplish this purpose; because if any examination is made, it is apt to be so superficial as to be of little value. An investigation of the methods employed in examining children for health certificates in the different cities and towns throughout the state was made in 1919 by the former Board of Labor and Industries. This study showed that to a large extent the work was hastily and carelessly performed; that in many instances no examination was made, the certificate being signed after a casual inspection, and sometimes without even this formality. Under the present law, it is very difficult to secure more satisfactory results, because any physician may sign the certificate; for there is no one who may be held responsible, no one to whom standards may be presented or suggestions made.

The intent of this requirement for health certificates is to prevent children who are physically unfit from going into industry at all, and to see that those who do go to work do not enter occupations which will mean an injury to their health. This implies that the physician making the examination should know something about the physical demands of the occupation in question, and whether the condition and physique of the child is such as to make it safe for him to engage in it. It means, or should mean, that the child who is defective physically should not be employed; that the child with any suggestion of tubercular tendency will not be permitted to work in dusty trades; that the child with defective vision will not be certified for work involving eye strain; or the child with a weak heart for work requiring lifting or running up and down stairs.

As this work is now performed, very few children are excluded from industry because of defects. In some of the large industrial cities, as shown by the study referred to, out of the thousands of children applying for health certificates, practically none were judged to be physically unfit for work. On the other hand, there is the evidence from the draft, the very large proportion of young men and boys from the industrial centers who were rejected because of physical unfitness. It would be unfair to ascribe the responsibility for this situation mainly to industry, as is sometimes done. To a considerable extent, the result is due to the fact that there were no adequate

safeguards provided when these boys, as children, entered industry. Some probably had defects which should have excluded them from industry altogether; some started to work at too early an age; some were permitted to enter occupations for which they were physically unfitted; and still others, with defects of a correctable nature, were allowed to go to work without having those defects corrected so that their effect, combined with the strain of industry, weakened and broke them down.

It is difficult to provide the needed protection to children before they enter industry. It is even more difficult to protect them after they have entered industry. Because of the practical impossibility of frequent inspections with a limited staff of inspectors, it is possible for unscrupulous employers in remote sections of the State to permit children to work on dangerous machines or at forbidden occupations. It is an easy thing for a child to shift from a permitted to a prohibited process in the same establishment, particularly if the processes are at all similar. It is difficult to confine children to the supposedly safe areas in industry. Young children are naturally irresponsible and careless. With all the safeguards which we try to place around young children in industry, there were last year 818 children, fourteen to sixteen years of age, who suffered some form of industrial injury involving loss of time from employment. In five instances the injury resulted fatally, and in thirteen instances it meant some form of handicap for life.

Some of the most serious accidents that occur to children are due, not to the fault of the employer, but directly to the lack of responsibility on the part of the child, and indirectly to the lack of responsibility on the part of society that permits children to be in industry at so immature an age. In many instances, young boys get hurt by trying to operate a machine which is near their work; although they are not supposed to touch it. A little boy last year was crushed to death by a freight elevator; he was not employed on the elevator, he was not supposed to operate it or work on it, but he worked near where it was; he tried to operate it and he lost his life. A little girl employed in a factory, legally employed at a safe permitted process, climbed on a bench to reach for something; her hair was caught on the shafting overhead, and she was scalped. In such instances, who is to blame, the child, the employer, or society that can afford no better protection for its children?



## NEW YORK YOUTHS AND THEIR JOBS

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"Our Boys" is the title of a report prepared by Howard B. Burdge for the New York State Military Training Commission and having the sub-title: "A study of the 245,000 sixteen, seventeen and eighteen-year-old employed boys of the State of New York." The report embodies a variety of data obtained in connection with putting into force the Military Training Law.

The estimated population of boys of these ages (December 3, 1918) is 364,000. The majority are out of school. The following general statistics are taken from the chapter entitled "Findings and Conclusions":

1. Six-sevenths of all sixteen, seventeen and eighteen-year-old boys in New York State are out of school.
2. Three-fourths of the sixteen-year-old boys are out of school.
3. Seven-eighths of the seventeen-year-old boys are out of school.
4. Fifteen-sixteenths of the eighteen-year-old boys are out of school.
5. Of every seven boys still in school four are sixteen years old, two are seventeen and one is eighteen.
6. About 54 per cent of these boys live in Greater New York.
7. 74.8 per cent live in the cities of the State.
8. 77.7 per cent live in places over 5,000 population having a superintendent of schools.
9. Only 16.3 per cent live in strictly rural communities.

The report deals mainly with the employed group. We quote the following summary statements concerning the working boys sixteen, seventeen and eighteen years of age:

### NATIONALITY

1. In Greater New York sixty per cent have both parents foreign born, ten per cent one parent foreign born and thirty per cent both parents American born.
2. In Greater New York twenty per cent of the boys are foreign born.
3. About ten per cent of the boys outside of Greater New York are foreign born.
4. In general the foreign population is greater in the larger cities, although there is no direct correlation between the population of individual cities and the per cent of foreign population.
5. The type of foreign population varies greatly in the smaller cities.
6. In Greater New York the foreign population is very cosmopolitan.
7. Only three per cent of the employed farm boys are foreign born.
8. With the exception of the English, Scotch and Canadians over ninety per cent of the foreign parents are of the same nationality. The Italians record of over ninety-three per cent is the highest.



**GUARDIANSHIP**

1. Only four boys out of five claim the father as guardian.
2. Only 73.7 per cent of American boys with American parents as compared with 84.7 per cent of foreign boys with foreign parents claim the father as a guardian. Where one parent is foreign born the record is 80.9 per cent.
3. Twice as many fathers as mothers were reported dead.
4. In some communities only seventy per cent of the boys claim the father as a guardian.
5. Five per cent of the boys have neither a father nor a mother as a guardian.

**FAMILIES**

1. About half of these boys come from families of four, five and six children.
2. Foreign families are larger than American families.
3. More Americans than foreigners have extremely large and extremely small families.

**PERSISTENCE IN SCHOOL**

1. Over sixty-five per cent remained in school one or more years beyond the compulsory age limit.
2. Over thirty per cent left on or before reaching the legal age for leaving school.
3. About six per cent left illegally.
4. In Greater New York sixty-eight per cent of American born boys with American parents and sixty-four per cent of foreign born boys with foreign parents remain one or more years beyond the legal age for leaving school.
5. In the other cities seventy-two per cent of American boys with American parents and sixty-one per cent of foreign boys with foreign parents remain one or more years beyond the legal age for leaving school.
6. The per cent of American boys who are still in school is greater than the per cent of foreign boys in every one of a random selection of eighteen large cities.

**AGE LEAVING SCHOOL**

Regardless of the size of the community, nationality, parentage, guardianship, and rank in family:

1. About thirty per cent left school before fifteen.
2. About thirty-eight per cent left school between fifteen and sixteen.
3. About twenty-six per cent left school between sixteen and seventeen.
4. The twenty-five per centile boy left school at about 14.8 years of age.
5. The median boy left school at about 15.5 years of age.
6. The seventy-five per centile boy left school at about 16.2 years of age.

**LAST GRADES COMPLETED**

1. The twenty-five per centile boy completed about 7.4 grades.
2. The median boy completed about 8.3 grades.
3. The seventy-five per centile boy completed about 8.8 grades.
4. The grades completed by the median boy vary from 8.3 in Greater New York to 7.7 in the farm boy group.
5. Sixty-two per cent of the Greater New York boys completed the eighth grade as compared with forty-two per cent of the employed farm boys.
6. Greater New York sends fewer of these boys through the first year of the high school than any of the other city and village groups.

LAST GRADES COMPLETED—*Continued*

7. The average rate of progress per grade per year varies from 92.2 per cent of a grade completed each year in Greater New York to only 82.8 per cent in the farm boy group.
8. Oldest boys make slightly better progress in school than their younger brothers.
9. American born boys with two foreign parents show a higher rate of progress than foreign born boys with foreign parents.
10. American boys with foreign parents in many nationality groups have a higher rate of progress in school than American born boys with American parents.
11. The type of foreign population rather than the per cent of foreign population influences the average rate of progress per grade per year in various communities.
12. In the larger nationality groups where both the boys and parents are foreign born the Scotch, Scandinavians and Russian Jews have an average rate of progress of over ninety-one per cent and the Italians of only eighty per cent. Where the boys are born in America and both parents are foreign born the Scotch, Scandinavians, Russian Jews Germans and Austro-Hungarians, all have an average rate of progress of about ninety-five per cent while the Italians have an average of 88.7 per cent.
13. American born boys with foreign parents have a higher average rate of progress per grade per year than foreign born boys with foreign parents and in many cases they excel the records of American boys with American parents.

## REASONS FOR LEAVING SCHOOL

1. The vast majority of these boys left school because "they wanted to go to work" and not because they were obliged to.
2. Less than fifteen per cent reported that they were obliged to go to work.
3. In New York City thirty per cent gave grade graduation as a reason for leaving.

## KIND OF SCHOOL LAST ATTENDED

1. About ninety per cent of the boys received their education in the public schools.

## SHOP WORK DONE IN SCHOOL

1. Relatively few boys received any training in State-aided vocational schools.

## BEST AND LEAST LIKED STUDIES

1. Mathematics is the best liked study.
2. English is the least liked study.
3. The maximum likes and dislikes for different subjects vary widely in the different grades.
4. Likes and dislikes are not influenced by foreign birth.

## MONEY EARNED WHILE IN SCHOOL

1. The majority of boys earn little money while in school.

## NIGHT SCHOOL ENROLLMENT

1. Less than ten per cent attend night school.
2. Over sixty per cent state that they do not wish to attend.
3. Less than three per cent of foreign born boys attend night school.

**WAGES**

1. The twenty-five per centile boys received between twelve and fifteen dollars per week.
2. The median boy received between fifteen and eighteen dollars per week.
3. The seventy-five per centile boy received between nineteen and twenty-two dollars per week.

**OBTAINING EMPLOYMENT**

1. Less than two per cent of the boys are assisted by schools, churches and employment agencies in getting employment.
2. About one-fourth get their jobs through friends and acquaintances.
3. About three-fourths get them by applying.

**LENGTH OF TIME ON LAST JOB**

1. Over forty per cent spent less than four and one-half months on their last job.
2. About sixty per cent spent less than seven and one-half months on their last job.

**WHY THEY LIKED THEIR JOBS**

1. About one-fifth liked their jobs because it was easy.
2. About one-fourth liked their job because it was interesting.
3. About ten per cent did not like them and would soon change employment.

**CARE USED IN HIRING BOYS**

1. No systematic effort is made to fit the boy to his job.

**MONEY SAVED**

1. In Greater New York forty per cent did not save any money and only ten per cent saved in banks.
2. Outside of Greater New York about twenty-five per cent saved no money and twenty per cent saved in banks.
3. About fifty per cent of all boys bought Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps.

**CONTRIBUTIONS TO FAMILY SUPPORT**

1. The per cent contributing nothing toward family support varies from 10.5 in Greater New York to 19.6 in villages over 5,000 population.
2. In Greater New York 77.4 per cent contributed ten or more dollars per week as compared with only 59.6 per cent in the villages over 5,000.
3. The median contribution in each city and village group falls between ten and fifteen dollars per week.
4. Foreign born boys contribute more than American born boys.

**OCCUPATIONS**

There is a distinct correlation between

1. Fathers' and boys' occupations.
2. Fathers' and boys' desired occupations.
3. Boys' present and desired occupations.
4. Last grade completed and type of occupation.
5. There is no more correlation in the eighteen year old group than in the sixteen year old group in the four items above.
6. Most boys leaving school on or before completing the eighth grade enter and desire to enter the industrial trades and occupations.
7. Most boys who complete one or more years in the high school enter and desire to enter professional, clerical and retail business occupations.
8. There is little correlation between boys' present and desired occupations and best and least liked studies.



# CHILDHOOD FIRST—AND LAST!

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RAYMOND G. FULLER

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The trouble with most of our courses and textbooks in child psychology is their suffusion with practical aims—childhood is temporary, childhood is formative, childhood is of little or no importance on its own account. Our knowledge of child nature, seemingly, is worth while only as it serves some purpose ulterior to childhood itself. We study child nature with reference to numerous social and educational problems, almost forgetting the child. We have a child psychology applied to schooling, a child psychology applied to morals and delinquency, a child psychology applied to play and recreation, and are beginning to have one applied to work and child labor, but we fail of a child psychology applied to childhood.

Our child psychologies are over-professionalized—designed not so much to illumine the realm of childhood as to throw light on our own tasks; not so much to enable us to help children to be children in the present, as to help us get them by the period of childhood safely and with profit, as we say, to themselves and to society. The purpose and spirit of these child psychologies is utilitarian and practical, rather than appreciative and reverential.

Take, for instance, what we call "educational psychology." To a large extent it is merely pedagogy and school management. It simplifies and eases the tasks of teachers and administrators, and promotes efficiency of instruction and discipline. It employs the new knowledge of child nature to lubricate the old machinery of education. It shows how to run the educational mill, how to induce pupils to learn their lessons, how to make scholastic ends meet at examination and promotion time. It places the schools first and the child afterward.

The reform of educational psychology and even of the schools has begun. Writers like John Dewey and innovators like Marietta Johnson are exerting a constantly widening influence on schoolmen and laymen. Theirs is an educational psychology that would fit the

schools to child nature. It is one that conduces to a truly sympathetic understanding of children as they are—one that recognizes the fact that the condition of *being really and truly a child* is the great educational desideratum. Being a child is much more significant, educationally, than becoming an adult. The former involves and includes the latter.

What is true of our child psychologies, as such, is likewise true of our general attitude, as child-welfare workers, toward childhood. We are inclined to look upon childhood as a problem to be solved rather than an object of service. Children require so much *looking after*, lest they come to harm or make trouble, and in order that they may be properly trained and educated! It's a nuisance, really. Child welfare is thought of as a means to an end, rather than an end in itself. It constitutes a job—and parenthetically, furnishes jobs. No doubt our child-welfare work is socially necessary. No doubt the spirit of social service on which we pride ourselves is admirable. But perhaps our welfare work is quite as necessary to the child as it is to society, and perhaps we could do with a little more of the spirit of *child service*. Perhaps, unawares, we are neglecting *the child*, neglecting him in our philosophy of child-welfare work, insofar as we have such a philosophy.

Child-welfare work should be carried on in accordance with the behavioristic philosophy. The essential element in this philosophy is the idea that, in order to know the needs of man, we must know how he is dynamically constituted—and so also of the child. It regards human needs from the standpoint of human nature and recognizes that at any given moment the individual possesses humanly natural needs corresponding to inner impulsions, hungers and desires which are neither good nor bad in themselves and which have a rightful and necessary expression in one form or another, whether the form be right or otherwise.

While the science of behavioristic psychology studies these humanly natural needs, their origin, and their relation to growth, development, and the integration of personality, behavioristic *philosophy* is concerned only with the fact that these needs exist and the fact, further, that the individual is always, so to speak, in a state of behavior. It is concerned not with the future of the individual but rather with his needs in the present as a behaving organism. It treats these needs with respect, and assumes that complete living



today is the best guarantee of complete living tomorrow. The future is more or less incidental. The welfare of the adult is a by-product of the welfare of the child.

The spirit of behavioristic philosophy is opposed to repression, prohibition and negation; it would keep human nature always active and busy and provide abundant opportunity for its expression in forms wholesome and beneficial. It would substitute doing for not doing, doing this for not doing that, and, never forgetting that the normal life is a life of behavior, would give thought not to the "badness" of human nature but to the goodness of the environmental medium in which human nature expresses itself, in which behavior takes place, and in which character and conduct, happiness and welfare, are determined.

The present is the most important period or moment in any human life. It is really the only important time. It sums up all the past of the race and of the individual; it is the starting point of all the future. Needs change in consequence of the constant interaction between heredity and environment; but life is continuous, and there must be at no time any neglect of *present* needs. Normality and fullness of development depend on a constant condition of complete and wholesome living in the present.

The glory of the child is his childhood and the proper object of child welfare work is the welfare of the child. This may seem a truism, but if it be, it is one whose meaning we are far from accepting in practice. Always to maintain the child's welfare does, indeed, require more knowledge than we yet possess but it also requires a different conception of purpose on our own part. Our so-called problems of child welfare—child labor and juvenile delinquency, etc.,—are really consequences of our failure to deal adequately with the one problem of child welfare. This failure determines not only our forms and divisions of child welfare work, but also to a large extent our spirit and attitude. Child welfare work is in the same position, practically and theoretically, as social work generally, which a recent writer describes as Society's "salvage and repair service." There is need of salvage and repair service, surely, but the conception of neither social work nor child welfare work should be so limited. Child welfare work, in spirit and application, should be liberated from its own failures, or—shall we say?—from Society's failures.





### A GOOD REASON

MOTHER—"There were two apples in the cupboard, Tommy, and now there is only one. How's that?"

TOMMY (*who sees no way of escape*)—"Well, ma, it was so dark in there I didn't see the other."

—*School and Home.*

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Humor in school publicity: *e.g.*, a boy whose reason for staying out of school was "sickness":

"Who's sick? Your father?"

"No!"

"Your mother!"

"No!"

"Who, then!"

"The Truant Officer."

—*Public Service.*

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### WALTER, THE LITTLE NEWS SELLER

If Walter, age 11, had been given any kind of physical examination before he began work as a paper carrier he would not have been allowed even to "try it out." He is frail, undernourished, under size, and extremely nervous. His route required him to rise between 4:30 and 5:00 A.M., go to the corner half a mile distant, get the pack of about 100 papers left by the street car, and deliver them to his patrons before six o'clock.

On Saturday he had to spend a couple of hours collecting, and if he made all his collections and no one moved away without paying, he would clear \$3.00 for a week's work. If a patron failed to receive

his paper before 7 A.M., he was instructed to telephone the office of the circulating manager; and a special messenger was dispatched with the precious paper, and twenty-five cents per copy was deducted from Walter's account.

Several things went badly the first week of the child's experience as a "wage earner," or rather as a merchant, so that on Saturday he had less than \$1.00 left for his week's work. During the two weeks following the circulating manager's office was besieged with irate patrons who had not received their papers. Three, five, six, seven in number, day after day. Poor little Walter's account was closed and he had to give up, owing the paper many precious dollars.

An older boy then took the route and in a few days found the offending billy-goat that had made regular rounds gathering papers for his own use. Walter's mother says, "Never again for Walter."

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America suffers today from ignorance more than any other single tyranny. Our children may have knowledge of the facts necessary for individual living. Our youth may acquire professional training of high degree. Their minds, however, have not been focused upon those truths which are so essential to a democratic community. Positive lack of knowledge of American conditions is chiefly responsible for the continuation of some evils. Failure to be intelligent upon public issues accounts for much of our weakness. The people need knowledge.—*Marion Le Roy Burton, President, University of Michigan.*

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One of the first points to be made clear to the minds of the public is that physical disease offers fewer obstacles to a national efficiency than do defects or disorders of mentality. It is not intended to slight the importance of physical examinations, especially when made in youth for the purpose of controlling disease tendencies at their beginning, nor to minimize the social significance of tuberculosis and especially of syphilis, which is so prone to disable the nervous system. The health of the country has gained enormously by granting arbitrary powers in these matters to boards of health, and the public is firmly convinced of the value of the policy. But the physical diseases are neither so widespread nor so disastrous to character as mental impairments, and yet the public persists in seeing in them the chief medical obstacles to prosperity. Psychological obstacles are not so manifest, and it will be some time before psychologists or alienists are given the confidence and authority accorded to workers in general hygiene. Yet a recognition that mental health is the best assurance of national security and power must come to the country which hopes to be prosperous and happy.—*Dr. Pearce Bailey, in Mental Hygiene, April, 1917.*



## BOOK SHELF

**JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.** Henry H. Goddard. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.

There is no longer any need for hit or miss guesswork procedure in handling problems of juvenile delinquency, is the opinion of the Director of the Ohio Bureau of Juvenile Research in his "Juvenile Delinquency." On the contrary, he believes that scientific handling of such cases is entirely possible. This book is written on the premise that juvenile delinquency is largely eradicable, and the experiences of the Ohio Bureau are used throughout to prove this point.

H. B. S.

**QUICKSANDS OF YOUTH.** Franklin Chase Hoyt. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

"Quicksands of Youth" presents, in narrative form, a number of incidents from the records of the New York City Children's Court. These very readable sketches are bound together with appropriate comment. Chapter headings are as follows: "The Spirit of the Children's Court," "A Recruit for Law and Order," "Citizens in the Making," "Twenty Months After," "The Gang in Embryo," "In Quest of Change and Adventure," "Sometimes We Smile," "Sore Let and Hindered," and "When the Call Comes to Them."

The volume has no scientific purpose but is designed simply to stimulate popular interest in the problems of delinquency and neglect. All of the stories told in it are based upon actual occurrences.

H. L. S.

**MOTION PICTURES IN A TYPICAL CITY.** Rev. J. J. Phelan, M.A., Ph.D. Toledo, Ohio: Little Book Press.

"Motion Pictures in a Typical City" is a social survey of motion pictures as a form of commercialized amusement in Toledo. The writer has attempted to gather together and present all available social data on the subject. He leaves the reader to make his own interpretations. Although the survey is local, it may serve as a guide to other cities in approaching their own problems of a similar nature.

H. L. S.



**CHILD WELFARE:** from the Social Point of View. Nora Milnes, B.Sc. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co.

This book by the Director of the Edinburgh School of Social Study is a deeply analytical study of child welfare. It begins with an exhaustive introductory chapter showing that child welfare should be regarded as one of the studies of applied economics, and follows up this premise through chapters in which the subject is carefully scrutinized from every point of view.

It is an earnest, thoughtful, and conscientious work which may well be recommended to everyone who has a serious interest in the study of child welfare.

H. B. S.

**WORKERS' EDUCATION.** Arthur Gleason. New York: Bureau of Industrial Research.

Workers' Education is the name given to the movement to provide educational opportunities for workers which shall be financed and controlled entirely by workers' organizations. It has a specific aim: "The liberation of the working class, individually and collectively." In quality it is "scientific and cultural, propagandist and civic, industrial and social."

A significant pamphlet has just been published by the Bureau of Industrial Research, describing the aims and methods of Workers' Education and the various developments of this idea in America; a few foreign examples, also, are included.

G. H. F.

**JUNIOR WAGE EARNERS.** Anna Y. Reed, Ph.D., assisted by Wilson Woelpper. New York: The Macmillan Company.

This book will be welcomed by many people who are interested in the practically new field of junior vocational guidance. It is a carefully worked out statement of the aim, policy and methods of the Junior Division of the United States Employment Service, which was created to meet the serious problem of the replacement in school or in industry of the young war workers. Miss Reed was the head of this Division and is, therefore, most competent to tell of their efforts to deal with the situation and their experiences in so doing.

H. B. S.

**NUTRITION AND GROWTH IN CHILDREN.** William R. P. Emerson, M.D. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

Dr. Emerson presents a comprehensive and detailed nutrition program that has attracted wide attention throughout the country. After thirteen years devoted to the study and treatment of malnourished children in nutrition

classes he has found that the real causes of malnutrition can be determined. When these causes have been removed the child responds to the strong force in nature that makes for recovery, and returns to health in a remarkably short time. He has arrived at five chief causal factors which are in order of their importance: physical defects, especially obstructions in breathing; lack of home control; overfatigue; improper diet and faulty food habits; and faulty health habits. This book presents an excellent working program covering methods of dealing with each of these five principal causes,—methods of diagnosis and identification, of removal of physical defects, of measured feeding, of control of physical, mental and social activities to prevent overfatigue: also prescribing the work of nutrition classes and clinics for treatment of malnutrition cases.

This book should especially recommend itself to parents.

J. H.

**THE CHILD AND HIS SCHOOL.** Gertrude Hartman. E. P. Dutton & Co.

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# The American Child

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF GENERAL CHILD WELFARE

AUGUST, 1922

TEXT OF PROPOSED  
CHILD LABOR AMENDMENT

SEVENTEENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
ON CHILD LABOR

PUBLISHED BY THE  
**National Child Labor Committee**  
*Incorporated to promote the interests of children*





# The American Child

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Volume Four  
Number Two

AUGUST, 1922

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**SEVENTEENTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE  
ON CHILD LABOR:  
STREET TRADES REPORTS**

**EDITORIAL COMMENT  
ON CHILD LABOR DECISION:  
THE NEED OF AN AMENDMENT**

**PUBLISHED BY**

**National Child Labor Committee**

Incorporated to promote the interests of children

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## AMEND THE CONSTITUTION

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The children of America are America's children, to protect at home as well as abroad. This nation cannot adequately protect and develop itself without seeing to it that its boys and girls are given a fair chance for safety from exploitation and for development through education.

Those conditions making for child welfare and for national welfare do not obtain while the states—many of them—are recalcitrant in matters of child labor legislation, and the federal government is impotent to set up and maintain suitable minimum standards under the Constitution as it stands.

Twice, the people of this country, through their representatives in Congress, have sought to express their wish and will in the form of a federal child labor law, and twice their humane and patriotic purpose has fallen to naught by reason of constitutional limitations as set forth in decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

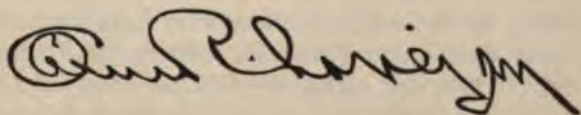
It has been published to the world that the United States of America cannot protect its children in industry. There have been two attempts and two failures, leaving little likelihood of effective action by reliance on existing constitutional powers. Moreover, any action would necessarily be indirect, for never, under the present Constitution, has there been any possibility of federal legislation dealing with child labor as child labor.

A nation that cannot protect its own children from industrial exploitation should be ashamed of itself. It should at least have the power to do so, even though it use the power only to make up the deficiencies of state action and to set up a minimum standard of national decency which no state shall be allowed to abrogate.

This power will give us respect in the eyes of our fellow nations, and to our citizens at home it will give confidence that children actually can and will be protected in whatever part of the country they may live. It is a form of democratic insurance. There is no democracy in permitting backward localities to use up childhood. We might as well speak of a democracy of robbery, of murder.

The laws of twenty-eight states, in one respect or another, are below the very reasonable standards fixed by the two federal acts. Now that the second federal act has been declared invalid, Georgia children 12 years of age may be worked ten hours a day, and children 14½ all night long. In North Carolina children of 12 may be worked 11 hours a day during school vacations, and children of 14 the same long work day the entire year. Important mining states fall below the sixteen-year age limit for employment in mines. Other shortcomings of existing state laws could be mentioned. Reports coming in indicate that a host of children are now going to work who would have been kept out of child labor if the federal act had remained in force.

Federal protection must be restored to these boys and girls. We need to bear in mind, not only that some states have so far failed to measure up to the federal standards, but that there is no telling when, if left to themselves, some states that have as high or higher standards, will slip back. It may turn out that a constitutional amendment will be all the federal protection necessary; or in other words, that the states, knowing that Congress can do the job, will themselves give full protection to America's children. If they do, legislation by Congress will not be needed; but in any case, *Congress should have the power to act.*



# NEWS FROM THE CHILD WELFARE FIELD

## Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor

Cheerful determination to go on and finish the task of child labor reform marked the discussion and plan-making at the Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor, held at Providence, Tuesday afternoon, July 27th. The decision in which the United States Supreme Court had declared the federal child labor law unconstitutional was treated with due seriousness, but with no sign of pessimism. Resentment against the Supreme Court was declared by several speakers to be unjustified and improper, and nobody dissented from that view.

The decision, as Professor Samuel McCune Lindsay of Columbia, the presiding officer, pointed out, was made by warm friends of child labor reform. There is no occasion for seeking to put a curb on the Supreme Court as a way out of the constitutional difficulties. Rather, it is up to the people, if they want federal action against child labor, to clear away these difficulties by amending the Constitution.

Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, made public the tentative draft of an amendment prepared by the National Committee. This draft amendment, now somewhat modified in phraseology, exhibits several points of special interest. It applies only to child labor. It attempts to safeguard the states from any interference with, or substitution for, the administration machinery which they have already built up in the welfare field. That machinery should be preserved and developed, not weakened. In the third place, the draft amendment leaves the states free to go, in child labor matters, as much farther than the federal government as they may choose. The standards which the federal government may incorporate into law are to represent a minimum of national decency—an irreducible barrier against exploitation and neglect of children.

It was strikingly set forth by Mr. Lovejoy and others that the federal law of the past three years, like the one before it, did not affect a great proportion of the child laborers in America. When it



went into operation, its age, hour and night work standards reached perhaps 300,000 boys and girls. It did not reach children in agriculture, street trades, the movies, tenement homework, or stores. Public recognition of the fact that a rural child labor problem does exist will be slow in coming, but conditions that investigation is disclosing in the great onion fields and beet-sugar areas will open the closed mind. The federal law did not require an educational or physical qualification for going to work. Federal legislation may or may not go farther next time than it did in 1916 or 1919, but in any case, the greater part of the task of child protection in respect to labor is up to the states. The National Child Labor Committee, though it has entered into an active campaign for a federal amendment, will not diminish in any way its present efforts to improve state laws and administration.

The problem of federal action dominated the Child Labor Conference, but the program, as originally planned before the decision of the Supreme Court was handed down, had to do principally with children in street trades. It is noteworthy that in reports given by investigators and students from eight states, a similar, almost identical, set of facts was presented in each case. Street trading seems to carry with it the same hazards and consequences in all the larger cities of the country—unhealthful conditions, retardation in school, a definite push toward delinquency, small earnings, and these wasted. Apparently the regulation of street trading is still an unsolved problem. Law enforcement is especially poor in connection with street occupations, largely because public opinion is especially lenient with child labor in city streets.

Participants in the program, besides Professor Lindsay and Mr. Lovejoy, were Bruce M. Watson, managing director, Public Education and Child Labor Association of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Madeleine H. Appel, secretary, Massachusetts Child Labor Committee; Herbert M. Diamond, assistant director, Wall Street Division, New York University; Mrs. Loraine B. Bush, State Child Welfare Department, Alabama; Miss F. Zeta Youmans, officer of Juvenile Occupations Department, Juvenile Protective Association, Chicago; Elmer Scott, director of the Civic Federation of Dallas, Texas; Wiley H. Swift, special agent on law and administration, National Child Labor Committee. Most of the addresses and

papers appear in this number of the *AMERICAN CHILD*; it is hoped to make good the omissions in the next number.

At the meetings of The National Conference of Social Work, much attention was given to the subject of child labor. Hardly a day passed without some discussion of the problems raised by the decision of the Supreme Court. Not only the problems of federal action, but other child labor problems were brought forward. Herbert Hoover, friend of children, opened his address with forceful words on this subject.

"Clearly," he said, "if economic waste is reprehensible, waste of child life, whether viewed economically or in terms of common and universal betterment, is a blight that, in its measure, is more deplorable than war itself."

Miss Grace Abbott, chief of the U. S. Children's Bureau, said: "State standards have been raised in many states since the first federal child labor law was enacted, but the reasons for a federal minimum are substantially the same today as they were in 1916. In some states children may work at what is regarded in most of the states of the United States and of Europe a dangerously young age; in some, night work is not prohibited for young persons; in some, they may still work excessive hours. With the end of the war there have developed two conflicting viewpoints with reference to activities of the Federal Government. There is a new appreciation of the fact that there is a level in the care of children below which no state of the United States can with safety to the nation be allowed to go, and, on the other hand, the doctrine of state's right has found some new adherents in irritation at many of the forms in which federal regulation appeared during the war. In general, there is agreement that either the idea of a federal minimum must be abandoned, or the Constitution must be amended so as to give Congress the power to legislate in this field."

---

### Text of Proposed Constitutional Amendment

Senator Medill McCormick of Illinois, introduced in the United States Senate on July 26th, the following joint resolution:

*"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House*



*concurring therein*), That the following article is proposed as an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution:

"Article —. The Congress shall have power to limit or prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age, and power is also reserved to the several states to limit or prohibit such labor in any way which does not lessen any limitation of such labor or the extent of any prohibition thereof by Congress. The power vested in the Congress by this article shall be additional to and not a limitation on the powers elsewhere vested in the Congress by the Constitution with respect to such labor."

This is Senate Joint Resolution No. 232. It has been referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, the membership of which is as follows: Senator Knute Nelson of Minnesota, Chairman; Senators William P. Dillingham, of Vermont; Frank B. Brandegee, of Connecticut; William E. Borah, of Idaho; Albert B. Cummins, of Iowa; LeBaron B. Colt, of Rhode Island; Thomas Sterling, of South Dakota; George W. Norris, of Nebraska; Richard P. Ernst, of Kentucky; Samuel M. Shortridge, of California; Charles A. Culberson, of Texas; Lee S. Overman, of North Carolina; James A. Reed, of Missouri; Henry F. Ashurst, of Arizona; John K. Shields, of Tennessee; Thomas J. Walsh, of Montana.

It is hoped that all readers of the *AMERICAN CHILD* will communicate with Senator McCormick, with the Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, and with other Senators, in support of this resolution. Especially is it desired that you write or wire the Senators from your own state.

The McCormick resolution follows the wording of the draft amendment agreed upon after several successive meetings of the Permanent Conference for the Abolition of Child Labor, which was formed in Washington in May, after the decision of the Supreme Court declaring unconstitutional the federal child labor tax law, by representatives of numerous labor and civic organizations interested in child welfare. The following are among the organizations represented in the Permanent Conference: General Federation of Women's Clubs; National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teach-



ers Association; National Organization for Public Health Nursing; National Women's Trade Union League; Service Bureau; National Council of Catholic Women; National Council of Women; National Women's Relief Society; National Board of the Y. W. C. A.; National Council of Jewish Women; American Association of University Women; International Committee Y. M. C. A.; Children's Bureau, Department of Labor; Women's Bureau, Department of Labor; American Association of Labor Legislation; Federal Council Churches of Christ in America; The Public Education and Child Labor Association of Pennsylvania; American Federation of Labor; and the National Child Labor Committee.

The steering and cooperating committee consists of Samuel Gompers, Mrs. Florence Kelley, Miss Matilda Lindsay, Frank Morrison, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Matthew Woll, Mrs. Glen Swiggert, William Green, Miss Grace Abbott, Thomas F. McMahon, George W. Perkins, Congressman John I. Nolan, John J. Manning, William H. Johnston, Mrs. Thomas G. Winter and Owen R. Lovejoy.

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### Legislation in Virginia

The child welfare laws recently passed in Virginia, which went into effect June 1, are an example of the wise type of social legislation which can result from an awakened interest on the part of a group in the state. Much credit is due to the Children's Code Commission—of which Judge Ricks is the chairman—which studied the existing laws and drafted the bills proposed to the last legislative session. Mr. Wiley H. Swift, representative of the National Child Labor Committee, cooperated with Judge H. Ricks, Mrs. Louis Brownlow, and Miss Adele Clark, state president of the League of Women Voters, in backing the child welfare bills and securing their success.

Important legislation relating to juvenile courts, the State Board of Public Welfare, child-placing and child-caring institutions and agencies, maternity hospitals, nurseries for children under six years, industrial schools, reformatories, recreation centers, and compulsory education, was passed, as well as amendments to the child labor laws. The Sheppard-Towner Bill was accepted.

A children's bureau was created within the State Board of

Public Welfare and local boards were provided for each county of the state.

Juvenile court bills were all passed in excellent shape. The Juvenile Court procedure bill provides for chancery proceeding, instead of the old semi-criminal procedure, which previously existed. A new bill extends the juvenile and domestic relation courts system to the counties of the state, giving them practically the same jurisdiction now exercised by those courts in cities. The plan is to have a special justice of the peace appointed by the judge of the circuit court.

The most important amendment to the child labor law extends the 14-year age limit to include all gainful occupations except agriculture, thereby affecting a large number of children.

Another important change raises the age limit for street trading to 14 years for boys and 18 for girls (with the exemption of boys 12 to 16 outside school hours), and prohibits night work in street trading—a much needed provision. It also makes street permits necessary for boys 12 to 16 bootblacking, selling newspapers or running errands.

Boys 16 and girls 18 are forbidden to work in cigar stores, theatres, concert halls, pool rooms, restaurants, steam laundries, or passenger or freight elevators.

Hours are reduced from a 48- to a 44-hour week under 16 in all gainful occupations except agriculture. A general exemption is made in the cases of children 12 to 16 in canneries when schools are not in session.

Compulsory school attendance is raised from 8 to 12 during ten weeks each year to 8 to 14 during entire school year, with exemption if the child has completed the elementary course of study or is regularly and legally employed.

The mothers' pension act is extended to include female guardians and mothers whose husbands are insane, in prison, physically incapacitated, divorced or charged with desertion, the amount being left to the discretion of the supervisors of the county or the governing body of the city.

The new child labor laws, together with the acts regulating child welfare and compulsory education, put Virginia among the more advanced states in this kind of legislation, and form a splendid basis for future protection of children.

### Legislation in Other States

Important child welfare legislation in Louisiana has met with defeat, although several bills in the interest of working children are still pending. A bill regulating street trades, night work, and street permits was reported unfavorably in the House on June 6th.

However, a bill has been passed providing that parish school boards shall have authority to organize and maintain special classes or schools for mentally, morally, and physically deficient children whose needs cannot be properly cared for in the regular public schools.

An appropriation of \$12,129 out of the State Treasury has been proposed for the promotion of maternity and infancy in Louisiana; no action has yet been taken.

A bill relative to an appointment of a commission of seven by the governor, to be known as Commission on Laws of Minors, to review laws of Maryland relating to minors and report with recommendations to the next General Assembly, in 1924, was introduced for the first time in March and referred to the Committee on Judiciary.

Both Houses in Massachusetts have adopted a resolution in favor of a Constitutional Amendment giving Congress the power to regulate hours of labor for women and minors. "By reason of lack of uniformity in laws of several states respecting hours of labor, the General Court of Massachusetts petitions that Congress propose a Constitutional Amendment."

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### Industrial Home Work of Children

Industrial home work in a state with no system of regulation means child labor at ages and under conditions prohibited for factory employment, according to a report just issued by the U. S. Department of Labor through the Children's Bureau. The report is entitled: "Industrial Home Work of Children," and gives the results of a study made in three Rhode Island cities. At the time of the study, none of the labor laws of that state applied to work done in homes.

It was found that at least 5,000 children under 16 years of age had done home work in the course of a year, that over 7 per cent of all the children 5 to 15 years of age, inclusive, in the three cities,



had been engaged in such work during that period, and that 3.5 per cent had worked for 30 days or more. Of these 2,338 children who had worked at least one month out of the year and had received compensation, 4 per cent were under 6 years of age and 46 per cent were under the age of 11.

The standards set up by the State of Rhode Island for school children and children working in factories were violated in the case of home-working children, the report states, in four respects: Children of school age remained at home occasionally or for extended periods to do home work, contrary to the compulsory school-attendance law of the state; children under the age of 14 were engaged at home in kinds of work which the law prohibited them from doing in factories; children under the age of 16 who worked in factories did overtime work at home contrary to the spirit of the law limiting hours of labor; and children injured in the course of home work did not receive compensation under the workmen's compensation law. Injuries, especially accidents from machines installed in the homes, in addition to eye strain and fatigue reacting upon school work, were frequent.

Twenty-one industries, among which the jewelry industry led, were represented by the 258 manufacturing establishments distributing home work in the district of the study; 153 establishments were covered by the inquiry. The principal kinds of work included carding snaps, stringing tags, drawing threads from lace, linking and wiring rosary beads, setting stones in jewelry, and assembling military buttons.

Four-fifths of the 956 children who reported earnings could not make, at the rates paid, so much as 10 cents an hour working at top speed; half could not make 5 cents. Of the families reporting total yearly earnings from home work, almost nine-tenths earned less than \$100 and nearly three-fifths earned less than \$25. These earnings in nearly all cases represented compensation for the work of more than one person; in over two-thirds of the families included in the study, at least three persons had engaged in home work.

A possible danger to the health of the community was found in the fact that large numbers of families reported doing home work while members of the family were ill with infectious diseases. In some cases the sick persons took part in the work.

The testimony of manufacturers using the home-work system indicates, the report states, that industrial home work in this district could be abolished with few business losses.

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### **Child Labor Prohibitions for Industrial Home Work**

The following regulations governing Industrial Home Work, submitted for a final public hearing at Philadelphia on May 4, 1922, were adopted by the Industrial Board May 9, 1922, to become effective September 1, 1922.

1. Minors under 14 shall not be employed in Industrial Home work.
  2. No minor under 16 may be employed for more than 51 hours a week, nor more than 9 hours a day, nor before 6 o'clock in the morning nor after 8 o'clock in the evening.
  3. Every minor between 14 and 16 years of age must attend, for the equivalent of not less than 8 hours each week, a continuation school in the school district where said minor is employed.
  4. These 8 hours shall be reckoned in the 51 hours a week permitted above.
  5. Minors between 14 and 16 shall not work without an employment certificate, which certificate must be kept on file by the employer.
  6. General employment certificates are required where children under 16 are employed all the time.
  7. Vocation employment certificates are required where minors under 16 work at any time except when they are required to attend school.
  8. Employment certificates may be issued only by the District Superintendent, Supervising Principal, or Secretary of the Board of School Directors, or other school official, deputized in writing by any of the other school officials authorized by law to issue such certificates.
  9. No minor under 16, who has not completed the work of the 6th grade in public schools, shall be entitled to an employment certificate.
  10. Before an employment certificate be issued, the prospective employer must make a statement in writing that he expects to give employment to a minor applying for such certificate.
  11. Employers must acknowledge, in writing, to the issuing officer, receipt of an employment certificate within 3 days after beginning of minor's employment.
  12. Upon termination of employment, the employer must return the employment certificate to the issuing school official.
- 

### **Commonwealth Fund Health Program**

The Commonwealth Fund has decided to finance a thorough child health program in three typical cities for a period of five

years. The general qualifications of the first city to be selected are that it should be from 15,000 to 25,000 in population, with an infant mortality of approximately 100 per 1,000 live births, or greater.

The program will comprise safe-guarding the health of the mother-to-be, laying a good health foundation for children in the early sensitive and formative period of their growth, health supervision, and the formation of the essential health habits in school children. The responsibility for carrying out this comprehensive child health program is placed upon the American Child Hygiene Association and the Child Health Organization of America.

A joint committee will have charge of all general policies and plans. Mr. Barry C. Smith of the Commonwealth Fund was elected chairman of this committee, Dr. Philip Van Ingen of the American Child Hygiene Association, treasurer, and Mr. Courtenay Dinwiddie of the National Child Health Council, executive secretary. The opening of an office at 532 Seventeenth Street, North West, Washington, D. C., was authorized. Active work will begin at once.

After careful consideration the committee has decided that the first city to be assisted in developing a thorough program for child health will be selected from the upper half of the Mississippi Valley region. Two other cities are to be selected in other sections of the country after work has been well started in the first.

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### **Milbank Memorial Fund Demonstration**

Plans for the selection of three localities in which health demonstrations will be conducted under the Milbank Memorial Fund Demonstration, are now well under way. The localities will include:

A rural county, selected from a group of counties ranging in population from 45,000 to 75,000.

A second-class city, the selection to be determined by the degree of participation assured by the local authorities and private agencies.

A district with a population of at least 100,000 in a large metropolitan city, if there is a demand for it.

The counties and cities will be located in New York State.



The selection of the rural county and the small city will depend largely on the results of two studies now being undertaken. A statistical study of these communities is being made under the direction of Commissioner Herman M. Biggs of the State Department of Health, and under the immediate supervision of Miss Jessamine S. Whitney, statistician of the National Tuberculosis Association. The direction of the social study of the communities is in the hands of Mr. Homer Folks, Secretary of the State Charities Aid Association, under direct supervision of George J. Nelback, Secretary of the Committee on Tuberculosis and Public Health.

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### A Review of "Rural Child Welfare"

In *The New Republic* of June 21, Dorothy Canfield Fisher writes of "Rural Child Welfare" as follows:

"Every day's mail brings to me, as member of a State Board of Education, two or three letters from conscientious women, asking me how they can make themselves useful in 'doing something for the schools and for school children.' From now on I shall always begin my answer by advising them to read and to study this admirable book, quite as instructive, suggestive and stimulating for country dwellers in Vermont or Minnesota or Indiana, as for those in West Virginia, about whom it is written.

"It is a satisfaction to have such an excellent model to place in the hands of people, willing and ready to do what they can to enrich and protect child life, but wholly uninformed as to facts, and what is more serious, wholly untrained in methods of determining facts. The scientific spirit of exact thoroughness which animates the book will be a tonic revelation to hazy-minded people of good intentions, who cannot fail to profit by such an example of how to investigate a situation intelligently before attempting to cope with it, of how to state your problem clearly, coherently and completely before trying to solve it.

"This book does better than provide a good recipe for this sort of work; it takes its readers out into the kitchen and lets them stand by to watch the whole progress of putting the recipe into execution; the materials used and the conditions of work being exactly what any country-dweller has to handle.

"This does not mean that the conditions found in West Vir-

ginia, and so accurately and sympathetically set down in this book, are exactly reproduced in Vermont, Minnesota or Indiana. On the contrary, every reader will find occasional pages on which he can make the relieved comment, 'Well, it's not so bad as that, here,' (and yet, even at that, let him not be too sure till he has covered with the thoroughness of this investigation even a very small district of the state he thinks he knows intimately). Nor does it mean that every reader will agree with every conclusion reached by the careful, thoughtful investigators of West Virginia. Personally I do not at all agree, either in theory or practice, with their sweeping, unqualified endorsement of school-consolidation as the only way to improve rural primary schools.

"But, though the reader like myself may never have set foot in West Virginia, he will not find a page in the book over which he can slide comfortably without being stung into doing some thinking. He will find a recognition and statement there of many a problem of American rural child-life, which until now he, along with all other American country-dwellers, has blandly ignored because of its familiarity. A good example of this is the plain, truthful, unexaggerated statement of the practically universal failure of the present truant system to get rural children regularly to school. Everybody who has ever lived in the country knows that it does not work, and never has worked, and never can work, till something is done about it. We all know, too, that it fails because of the network of close personal relations in country life. But we have all looked the other way, and kept a profound silence on this failure as one of the explanations for the astounding amount of illiteracy revealed by the recent army census. City dwellers (almost without exception educational and statistical experts are city dwellers) have not guessed at what was hidden by our silence, but it is at last shown up in this book. Personally I am once more unable to agree with the recommendations of these investigators, about the best way to solve this difficulty. I do not think that a different law, or a different set of officials ever go far towards solving any difficulty unless public opinion is changed, and I think it perfectly possible to change public opinion about this matter. But the book has done something of very great value in pulling this difficulty out of the dark corner where we have kept it hidden, and holding it up so that it can no longer be ignored.

"Another good example of what this volume does, is its treatment of play. Country people have ignored the necessity to provide play and recreation for country children quite as systematically as the failures of the truant laws; and much more honestly, for as a rule they have had no notion that there was anything there to ignore. No chapter of this very useful book will be more useful than the one on Rural Recreation. The country-dwelling citizens and local and state officials who, it is to be hoped, will read this report, will find perhaps more new food for thought in that chapter and in the suggestions about play, than in any other part of this reasonable, practical, intelligent and humane volume."

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### **Children of Wage-Earning Mothers**

Gainful employment of mothers of young children frequently means that the children receive inadequate care during the day, or no care at all, according to a report entitled, "Children of Wage-Earning Mothers, A Study of a Selected Group in Chicago," just made public by the U. S. Department of Labor through the Children's Bureau. Other conditions found include retarded school progress of the children, over-fatigue and ill-health of the mothers—with consequent loss to the children—and in some instances overwork by children who had the responsibility for household tasks beyond their strength.

The report presents the results of a study of 843 families of working mothers, in which were 2,066 children under the age of 14 years. The group included families known to the Chicago United Charities and to the day nurseries, and included also a special group of 212 colored families. It was found that the problem of the employment of mothers had to do with both normal and broken families. Where the father was a member of the family group and worked regularly his earnings were, in the great majority of cases, inadequate for the family support.

The school-attendance records of a group of 742 children were obtained, and these compared unfavorably with the attendance of all the children enrolled in nine selected schools in workers' neighborhoods. A large amount of retardation was found among the children of wage-earning mothers, over one-third of whom were below the standard grade for their age.



### Factory Inspection in Jugo-Slavia

*The International Labour Review* quotes the following points as worthy of note from the first annual report of the Labour Inspection Department of Jugo-Slavia.

Only twelve industrial inspection officials were at work during 1920. During this year 1,138 undertakings, employing 36,027 persons, were inspected; 279 of these undertakings were commercial and 850 industrial; 397 used mechanical power and the rest were entirely dependent on man-power. The age-distribution of the 36,027 persons employed in the above-mentioned undertakings was as follows:

#### *Male workers*

36	under 12 years of age
1,791	between 12 and 16 years of age
26,486	above 16 years of age

#### *Female workers*

37	under 12 years of age
1,127	between 12 and 16 years of age
6,550	above 16 years of age

These numbers, however, do not correctly represent the total number of workers in the country, since industrial inspection is not yet carried on in every district; even in areas where it has begun, it has proved impossible to visit all undertakings on account of the inadequacy of the available staff. It may be anticipated that complete statistical returns will be presented in 1922.

Before the war it was not specially advantageous to employers to engage either unmarried or married persons, since each worker was paid according to ability. These conditions have been changed in an important respect. A basic wage is now paid, to which bonuses are added according to the responsibilities of the worker for wife children, parents, etc. It is therefore cheaper for the employer to engage unmarried persons, and married workers are being dismissed and replaced by unmarried ones. It is obvious that this produces an intolerable situation, which calls for relief at the earliest possible moment; the number of married persons who are unemployed increases daily.

Complaints of the illegal employment of young persons and women are very common, and the regulations on hours of work are being disregarded; in southern Serbia, in particular, the daily hours of work still amount to more than 14.

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### **Employment-Certificate Conference**

The increasing interest which schools are taking in the children who leave their classrooms at an early age to go to work was evidenced by the inclusion in the National Education Association program this year for the first time of a section on "Standards and Problems of Employment-Certificate Issuance." The meetings were held under the joint auspices of the National Education Association and the Children's Bureau. In opening the conference Miss Grace Abbott, Chief of the Children's Bureau, emphasized the fact that the age, education and physical standards of a child labor law can be uniformly enforced only if every child is required to have a certificate, and if certificates are issued only upon reliable evidence that the child is legally qualified to work.

A paper by Miss Anne S. Davis on the "Organization and Procedure of the Local Issuing Office," brought out very clearly the advantages of having certificate issuance closely correlated, as it is in Chicago, with the vocational guidance and placement work, the attendance department, the industrial studies division, and the factory inspection department. She spoke in some detail of the careful medical examination which is given every applicant. Twenty to thirty per cent of the children are refused certificates because of defects; the greatest number for malnutrition. By referring them to clinics or sending them to Arden Shore camp, which is maintained for the purpose, defective conditions are corrected and health is built up. Dr. Wade Wright of Boston brought out the necessity of having this work done by competent physicians, appointed for the purpose. The examination is important, he believes, not only to exclude children from occupations for which they are not fitted, but as a check upon the school medical inspection work, and as a basis of comparison with the findings of subsequent examinations to determine the effects of early employment.



Miss Edith Campbell of Cincinnati, discussed the bearing which work permits have upon school problems, and stressed the need for reorganizing grade work to meet the needs of retarded children.

Mr. Taylor Frey of Wisconsin described the State Employment Certificate System, controlled by the State Industrial Commission, which has the power of refusing to allow children to work for undesirable employers.

Dr. E. J. Lickley summarized conditions in California, and Miss Jeanie Minor of New York and Miss Esther Lee Ryder of Alabama discussed the enforcement of the educational and age standard in issuing employment certificates.

At the close of the conference a resolution was passed requesting the Children's Bureau to call a similar meeting at some future date, and asking that a discussion of the control of street trading be included in the program.

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### **Child Labor in Oyster and Shrimp-Canning Communities**

A report made public by the U. S. Department of Labor through the Children's Bureau described child labor in the oyster and shrimp-canning industry during the period between the first and second Federal child labor laws, when no Federal regulation of child labor existed. Special significance attaches to the report in view of the decision of the U. S. Supreme Court, rendered on May 15, which held the Federal Child Labor Tax Law unconstitutional and thus leaves the children again without the protection of a Federal law. The report, entitled "Child Labor and the Work of Mothers in Oyster and Shrimp-Canning Communities on the Gulf Coast," calls attention to the very young ages of many of the children employed, the detrimental conditions under which they worked, the poor school facilities, the marked retardation in school, and the employment of mothers of young children.

The work of both the children and their parents was subject to all the irregularities of the canning industry, the report states. Since the work depended on the catch, it began any time between 3 and 7 o'clock in the morning, and lasted a few hours, a whole day, or sometimes on into the evening. Of the 544 working children



under 16 years of age included in the study, more than three-fifths worked whenever the factory was open. The others worked only occasionally or before and after school and on Saturdays. The majority of the children—334 of the 544 who worked—were under the age of 14 years, the minimum fixed by both of the Federal laws. Some were as young as six years of age or under.

Most of the cannery work was wet and dirty, and was done in cold, damp, drafty sheds, the oyster shuckers or shrimp pickers standing among the empty oyster shells or shrimp hulls. The workers were liable to injuries from the sharp oyster shells, shrimp thorns, and work knives, and to constant soreness of the hands from acid in the shrimp. Many injuries were reported among children.

In order to secure an increased supply of labor which the employers are able to control, the custom of importing families from the North has been carried on each winter for a number of years. These migratory workers are housed in company camps, which usually were found to be insanitary and overcrowded. With no community held responsible for their education, 37 per cent of the white children 10 to 15 years of age in the migratory families studied were illiterate, as compared with 4 per cent for approximately the same age group, both white and colored, for the United States as a whole. Nearly two-thirds of the children of these families at the ages of 14 and 15 had not completed the fourth grade. Even among the local children who worked in the canneries retardation in school was serious. Nineteen per cent of the resident white children and 25 per cent of the colored, could neither read nor write.

In about one-fourth of the families in which the mother or the children were employed, the father was dead or had deserted the family. The study was made at a time when earnings were said by employers and workers to be higher than ever before, but the earnings of the fathers for their best week during this season were found to be under \$25 in two-thirds of the cases, and under \$20 in nearly one-half; for the average week 79 per cent of the fathers made less than \$25, and practically a third of them less than \$15. Four-fifths of the mothers averaged less than \$7.50 a week.

Working mothers with children under 6 years of age either left them at home, in a majority of cases with only children as caretakers or with no caretakers at all, or took them with them to the

canneries, where they were subject to the physical discomforts of the canning sheds and were liable to accidents.

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### Study of Child Welfare Laws in Alabama

The June issue of *Alabama Childhood*, the official bulletin of the State Child Welfare Department, consists of a study of the laws affecting children and suggestions for legislation made for the Welfare Commission by the National Child Labor Committee.

In 1921 the Commission appointed from its membership a committee of five to make a careful study of child welfare legislation with special reference to the problems presented in Alabama, and to make recommendations for the removal of inconsistent, obsolete or otherwise undesirable laws and also recommendations for new legislation for the promotion of child welfare. The chair named on this committee W. T. Murphree, S. D. Murphy, Dr. S. W. Welch, Dr. John W. Abercrombie and Lawrence H. Lee. This committee was empowered to employ such expert service as it deemed necessary for the making of the study.

Under these instructions the committee called on the National Child Labor Committee for help in making the study. Mr. Wiley H. Swift, Miss Mabel Brown Ellis and Miss Gertrude Folks were assigned to the task, and went to Alabama where a careful study of the State's laws, agencies and institutions was made. The National Child Labor Committee and the members of its staff who made the study realized that the local committee was more intimately acquainted with conditions in the state than they were. In fact, they understood that the report was to be preliminary and that the final report was to be the opinion of the special committee. But the study was accepted with slight revision by this committee on May 8, 1922, and the Commission as a whole received and adopted the report May 18, 1922.

The agents of the National Child Labor Committee found that the Alabama general law for children is in the main satisfactory, and that there is no need for sweeping changes. The suggestions they made are therefore in the nature of development of already existing laws. Pending the next legislative session the special committee is now drafting laws in conformity with these recommendations.

## BREVITIES

The General Federation of Women's Clubs, which held their biennial convention at Chautauqua, New York, the last ten days in June, passed a resolution favoring a child labor amendment to the Constitution. Although all delegates present saw the necessity for child labor reform, the resolution was preceded by a lively discussion as to the proper method of attaining the reform. The majority, however, believed that the only sure way of securing effective legislation for the protection of children is through a constitutional amendment.

For several years there has been in Rome an agricultural colony of sixty children, the aim of which is to educate poor minors, orphans, and deserted children. They are given a primary education up to 12 years of age, followed by vocational training.

In France there are 15 apprentice schools of agriculture for children of dead or wounded soldiers. The apprenticeship lasts three years, and boys must have a certificate of primary studies or be 13 years old to gain admittance.

Charles E. Gibbons, of the staff of the National Child Labor Committee, presented a paper, "The Extent and Control of Rural Child Labor," before the Department of Rural Education at the Annual Convention of the National Education Association in Boston, Friday afternoon, July 7th.

In order to make intensive studies in the development of children between the ages of two and four years, the Iowa child welfare station has organized a pre-school laboratory, where twenty children are now under daily observation and experimentation. This is the first laboratory school of its kind in America.—*Journal of Education*.

According to a decision handed down recently by the compensation referee at Philadelphia, child workers between the ages of 14 and 16 who are injured on their way to continuation school are entitled to the benefits of the workman's compensation act.—*Journal of American Medical Association*.



The National Child Labor Committee has received the following letter from Dr. Louis Miller, chairman of the Committee on Medical Literature of the *American Medical Aid for Russia*

"We beg to acknowledge receipt of your literature, which as you may see from the enclosed notice, has been forwarded to Russia on the S.S. *Belvedere*, which sailed May 31st.

"Inasmuch as literature on children is now of particular interest to Russia, we are glad to have been the medium of forwarding this, and we would be glad to receive from you all future literature for the same purpose."

The National Association of Travelers Aid Societies announces the appointment of John R. Shillady, formerly executive director of the National Consumers' League, as general director of its work in aid of travelers.

Wiley H. Swift, of the staff of the National Child Labor Committee, spoke in Toronto, June 22nd, before the Kiwanis Club International on the subject, "A Fair Chance for the Underprivileged Child—A Future Citizen."

The U. S. Bureau of Education encouragingly reports on one method of solving the problem of rural education. Transportation of pupils to the public schools is specifically provided for by the school laws of 43 states. The remaining 5 states—Delaware, Florida, New Mexico, Utah and Wyoming—permit transportation under the authority granted to school trustees or directors to provide for the general welfare of their school districts.

One of the three planks in the platform of the Progressive Feminist Party, a new political body organized in Chile for the purpose of gaining all the rights claimed by women, is the founding of a ministry of public welfare and education, headed by a woman executive, to protect women and children and to improve living conditions.—*Bulletin of the Pan-American Union*.

According to the U. S. Department of Agriculture, a total of 136,441 boys and girls were enrolled in agricultural extension clubs, in 1921, for training in various phases of live-stock work. These junior farmers owned, last year, 76,149 head of farm animals and 554,286 fowls, representing a total value of \$3,605,176.

Although agricultural extension methods are older in Denmark than in the United States, work with boys and girls as conducted by the United States Department of Agriculture in cooperation with state agricultural colleges has not yet been organized there. A plan, however, is being considered for forming such clubs, says S. Sorensen, agricultural advisor attached to the Danish Legation at Washington. At present the work in Denmark is for people from 18 to 70 years.

A news item in a Raleigh, North Carolina, paper reports that the Drexel Furniture Company has instituted a suit for the recovery of \$6,312 in taxes paid by the furniture concern under protest, child labor products tax. Judge James E. Boyd, who made the ruling holding the federal child labor law unconstitutional, signed final judgment directing the United States Treasury to refund the amount.

## ***The American Child***

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### *Contributing Editors*

CHARLES E. GIBBONS	WILEY H. SWIFT
SARA A. BROWN	WALTER W. ARMENTROUT

Yearly subscription, four issues, two dollars. Single copies fifty cents.

#### *Address:*

NATIONAL CHILD LABOR COMMITTEE  
105 East 22nd Street - - New York City

## EDITORIAL COMMENT ON CHILD LABOR DECISION

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The Supreme Court decision of May 15, declaring unconstitutional the federal child labor tax law of 1919, has received widespread attention. Public opinion is unanimous in its insistence on child labor reform, and many leading newspapers and magazines have come out vigorously in favor of federal action based on a constitutional amendment, as the only effective method of securing the reform which public sentiment demands.

The New York *Times* suggests that the Supreme Court decision declaring the child labor law unconstitutional is a disguised blessing. After pointing out in detail in how many ways the recently invalidated child labor law was inadequate, it says: "The great campaign for improving child labor conditions which is now going forward with renewed energy is aiming much higher. It is working to raise the age limit at which boys and girls can enter any occupation. It strives to establish health standards and assure several years more schooling for boys and girls, whatever their subsequent work may be. With an aroused public conscience, it seems improbable that the next legislation will fall as far short of the ideal as those laws which have been repealed. The whole problem of child labor, its importance to the health, education and morals of the next generation will be opened and attacked in a broader spirit and with increased vigor."

The New York *Mail* writes:

"After muddling around for more than ten years with the child labor question, it would seem that even Congress must be convinced by now that the only adequate recourse is to an amendment of the Federal Constitution. Since Congress first began dallying with the matter children have grown up into imperfect and stunted manhood and womanhood who might have attained normal and healthful development if the thing had been done right in the first place. Are the boys and girls of today to be doomed to the same melancholy fate? The



inhumanity, the injustice, the barbarity of child exploitation has come to be so generally understood that none dare uphold it in the open. Congress must see to it that none can continue a bushwhacking warfare against it in secret. New legislation ought to be written into the nation's statutes immediately, on whatever ground promises success. In the meantime the machinery of amending the Constitution should be set in motion without an instant's delay."

"It is plain," declares the *New York Globe*, "that a Constitution drafted in 1791, before the rise of the factory system, is not adequate to meet the necessities of a nation as completely industrialized as is the United States of 1922." In a later issue, the *Globe* reiterates its urgent demand for a constitutional amendment:

"Two successive annulments of federal laws forbidding premature child labor by the United States Supreme Court have so aroused public opinion that apparently the way has been prepared for the adoption of a child labor amendment to the national Constitution. . . . Congress obviously ought to have such powers as would be conferred by this amendment. It is absurd that this nation should now have no legal authority to interfere with conditions injurious to the health or morals of the coming generations. For if a nation cannot defend its young it cannot assure its own existence. These propositions are so widely accepted that child labor laws duly safeguarded in the Constitution ought soon to be upon the statute books."

In the opinion of the *New York Tribune*:

"The only adequate safeguard now feasible is a constitutional amendment nullifying the recent decision. Opponents of child labor barbarities should at once become active in behalf of an amendment. The difficulties are great, but they can be met. It has been shown that the Constitution is amendable—that the old idea that the consent of three-fourths of the states cannot ever be secured to change is faulty. The amendment should be drawn in the simplest form and be confined to the single matter of child labor, for any sort of larger general federal control over interstate commerce would be combated and lead to complications."

The New York newspapers just quoted are by no means the only ones voicing strong sentiment in favor of a child labor amendment to the Constitution. According to the *Washington Star*:

"Constitutional amendments are not as difficult to obtain nowadays as in the past. It is possible to modify the organic

law when a public demand is generally expressed. Some years ago an amendment was adopted, when a Supreme Court decision pointed to its necessity, in order that an income tax might be levied. It is the hope of those concerned for the correction of the child labor evil to repeat this procedure and lay the foundations for an effective federal statute following amendment. The fight against child labor is not to be stopped by legal barriers which can be removed."

"The Constitution," the *Boston Transcript* says, "certainly could not have provided for every emergency, for every development of the national sense of morals and necessity."

The *Denver (Colo.) Times* declares: "We doubt not that the rights of children are as important to the thoughtful American citizen as those of the adult population. They must be protected against the greed of industry. If the only way to effect this protection is by constitutional amendment, then let it so be done, in order that the American child may be given an opportunity in every nook and cranny of the nation to grow up to citizenship free from the stunting influence of the factory, the mine and the shop."

The *Cleveland (Ohio) Press* points out that "The Supreme Court's decision accords with the Constitution; but the Constitution must be amended if American civilization is to advance at an even level."

The *San Francisco (Cal.) Journal* writes:

"A society that imposes premature age on children by making drudges of them at the time they should be building up their bodies by free play in the open air, or their minds by education, will perish prematurely and will deserve its fate. By two recent amendments to the Constitution, measures have been taken to make the poisonous liquor traffic a matter of national concern and to secure national recognition of the rights of women as citizens. If we do not regard the rights of children as an equally important issue and of equal concern to the nation as a whole, our boasted idealism is a rather hollow affair."

The *Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News* takes the view that the Supreme Court decision caused considerable satisfaction even among the most ardent opponents of child labor, "for it was felt that the apparent impossibility of enacting a satisfactory national law would

hasten the adoption of a federal amendment which would serve the same purpose in a larger and more thorough way.

"The feeling in favor of such an amendment, in spite of the delay always attendant upon a change in the Constitution, is likely to grow, particularly when it is realized that the unsuccessful law would have reached only 15 per cent of the working children in the United States, leaving the other 85 per cent unprotected. Children in street trades, sweated tenement house children and the million children in agricultural labor were wholly untouched by this law.

"Those who are working for a federal amendment on this matter are keeping in mind the fact that many states now have excellent child labor laws within their own boundaries and that progress is being made year by year in improving local conditions. The amendment will be so worded that its requirement will be the minimum and so not annul the effect of state laws that are in advance of it."

The Jackson (Miss.) *Clarion* takes the progressive attitude that child labor is a national interest. "America cannot for its own sake afford to have its youth deadened by unremitting and burdensome toil under conditions which prevail wherever child labor is exploited. It is more than a state interest. It is a national interest and it will be very unfortunate if the evil is allowed to continue."

The Houston (Texas) *Chronicle* takes issue with those who criticize the decision of the Supreme Court, and admonishes them to take the constructive viewpoint rather than the destructive:

"If the law is unconstitutional, and we still want it, there is something more important and more constructive for us to do than make faces at the court. Since we have the power to amend the Constitution, unconstitutionality of any given law is no permanent barrier to its final enactment. If three-fourths of the states want it, there is a way for them to get it. Whether a federal child labor law can be made effective under existing provisions of the Constitution seems rather doubtful. At all events, Congress has tried twice and failed. Meanwhile, and if a great majority of people favor such a law, as we believe, there is an open road by which to guarantee its constitutionality. That road is the obvious one to follow."

The American *Federationist*, representing organized labor, demands a constitutional amendment as the only remaining legislative remedy: "The labor movement will continue its work of emancipa-



tion, but a constitutional amendment is needed to complete the work quickly. The Supreme Court cannot reach a constitutional amendment. Every great moral force in the country should rally to the cause of the children, demanding and working constructively for immediate congressional action for a constitutional amendment to save the children from the greed of employers."

One of the problems that has arisen from the Supreme Court decision is the old question of states' rights. Some people still feel that political tradition and absolute state autonomy are more vital than the welfare of a nation's future citizens. Dr. John A. Ryan, in the *Catholic Charities Review*, clearly defines this issue:

"The division between matters which are proper for state legislation and those which should be subject to federal control is clear. All subjects of a local nature which either do not affect the people of other states at all, or affect them only slightly and indirectly, should be reserved to local and state control. All matters which directly and considerably concern the people of more than one state, should be regulated by general federal laws. Not only the employment of child labor, but the whole province of industrial relations belong in the latter class. They should all be subject to regulation by Congress. What we need is an amendment to the Federal Constitution empowering Congress to regulate all the conditions of employment of labor, including the power to fix minimum rates of wages in all industries."

The *New Republic* interprets the situation not only from a logical viewpoint but from the humanitarian point of view that the welfare of children is not something to be argued along geographical or political lines:

"It is not necessary, after a century and a half of industrialism, to argue at length the case against child labor. Every intelligent person who is not blinded by self-interest knows that labor in mines and factories and shops is injurious to growing children. It is a grave wrong to the children themselves, but that may be conceived of as a matter which lies between the children and the state in which they are domiciled, if one chooses to bound his human sympathies by rather shadowy geographical lines. It is a wrong to industrial society, which will pay, in future ill health and incompetence, for the small present profits to the exploiters of child labor. And American industrial society is not partitioned off by state lines. It is a wrong to the nation, which depends in war upon the physical fitness and

mental alertness of its young men, and in peace upon the vigor and intelligence of its citizenship.

"But child welfare is such an intimate, such an imperative matter: is it credible that the nation should need to step in to hold any state to its duties to its children? Is it credible that the state should need to step in to hold the parents of children to their duties? It is credible. The history of child labor proves that, conclusively."

"We believe," it continues, "that the case is one that calls for national action. We are not in reality one nation unless we can establish minimum national standards, most of all in the field of child welfare."

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To allow the exploitation of childhood, for mere, present, material gain for the few, is suicidal to any commonwealth. Words are powerless to convey the disastrous consequences resulting from denial to any child, white or black, rich or poor, the opportunity to develop in home and school for the burdens of adulthood. Neglect of the child brings to us an endless file of unemployables, defectives and criminals. Of what use to spray a plant suffering from the cut-worm? Let us unite on a child labor constitutional amendment which will give to all children the fullness of life which is their birthright.

—*Grace E. Bliss, Woman's Legislative Council, Seattle, Washington.*

## CONNECTICUT STUDY OF STREET TRADES\*

H. M. DIAMOND

The study was made as a part of the work of the Connecticut Child Welfare Commission appointed in 1920. The concentration of effort in the direction of dependent, neglected, delinquent and defective children prevented the undertaking of any field work in this study. As a result the study was made by questionnaire. Questionnaires were circulated in the grammar schools of four cities: Hartford, New Haven, Bridgeport and New London. Each child reporting work on the streets was questioned by his teacher and the replies entered on the questionnaire card. About 2,500 cards were returned and 1,222 were selected for final analysis.

The results of the study:

### I. Nativity.

<i>Birthplace of Street Traders</i>			
Birthplace	No.	Per Cent	
United States.....	1,064	.88	
Foreign Country.....	151	.11	
Unknown.....	7	.01	
Total.....	1,222	100.00	

<i>Birthplace of Parents</i>			
Birthplace	No.	Per Cent	
United States.....	276	.23	
Foreign.....	931	.76	
Mixed or Unknown.....	15	.01	
Total.....	1,222	100.00	

Table I and II deal with the matter of nativity; Table I indicates the nativity of the children, and Table II that of their parents.

\*Paper read at Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor.



The table shows that very few of these children are foreign-born—only 12 per cent; in fact, 88 per cent of them being of American birth; while, on the other hand, Table II practically reverses the percentages, 76 per cent of the parents being of foreign birth.

## II. Parental Conditions.

The Connecticut figure of 84 per cent from normal homes simply corroborates the findings in other cities. The broken home is a very slight factor in street trading.

## III. Employment of Parents.

Tables VI and VII show that in 87 per cent of the cases the fathers of the children were employed, and that in 15 per cent the mother was employed. With respect to this latter figure, it is to be noted that in only 10 per cent of the cases was the mother widowed, so that as a matter of fact, in a few of the families both father and mother were at work at the time this study was made. The figures prove also that nearly all of these children are living with an adult male bread winner.

## IV. Earnings.

The average earnings of these children, calculated on the basis of the above enumeration, are 54 cents per day. This figure does not represent, however, what the average child actually takes home. The general average is raised by the earnings of a few boys who really make good earnings. Sixty-five per cent of the children state that they can earn 50 cents and less per day; 26 per cent state that they can earn 25 cents or less per day; 19 per cent claim to earn more than \$1.00 per day. For the greater number of children the earnings are below 50 cents. If the calculation is made of the average daily earnings of the group stating that they make 50 cents and below per day, the result is an average of 33 cents per day. The general average of 54 cents does not truly represent the amounts which most of these children are turning in; the latter named amount more closely approximates the sums which the greater number of children are obtaining by their efforts. As Hexter remarks, "The average earnings are not representative as they include the exceptional boys who earn the large amounts."

Interpreting the figures from our returns in the light of all the

facts of the case, a safe conclusion is that the regular earnings of these children will vary between \$1.00 and \$3.00 per week, the latter figure being somewhat higher than the average.

#### V. School Work.

About one-third of the street trading children are in the retarded group as compared with one-sixth in the general school population. One-tenth of the street traders are in advanced grades as compared with one-fifth in the general school population. A comparison of the figures for the general school population of these cities with the group considered in this study yields the same general results as above. The retarded group is much larger among the street traders than in the general school population, and the advanced group is relatively smaller.

Of these Connecticut children, then, two facts are established in this connection: one that they are street traders, the other that they are disproportionately behind in their school grades. Authorities on the subject have voiced the opinion that the employment of school children on the street competes with their school work, with disastrous consequences to the latter. The fact that so many unrelated studies carried on in widely separated localities have uniformly disclosed this high rate of retardation is sufficient evidence of the correctness of their conclusions. The phenomenon is too regular in its manifestations to leave room for doubt on this point. Unquestionably the same forces are at work and the same relationships exist in Connecticut as elsewhere.

That the regular occurrence of this combination of factors is not a mere matter of coincidence may be otherwise demonstrated by an analysis of the findings of this study with respect to hours and earnings. A relationship between the facts of street trading on the one hand and of retardation on the other is definitely and incontrovertibly established.

#### VI. School Work and Hours.

While the retarded group of children constitutes only 33 per cent of the total number under consideration, they form 55 per cent of the group working six hours a day, 59 per cent of those working five hours a day, and 46 per cent of those working four hours a day. On the other hand, they are but 22 per cent of those who work

only one hour a day. It is obvious, therefore, that the retarded children are largely identical with those who constitute the group devoting the greatest number of hours per day to work outside of school; and that they form the greater part of the group working more than three hours per day, although, as a whole, they form but one-third of the entire number of children tabulated. It should be noted, also, that the percentage increases for the retarded group as the number of hours increases, and conversely for the normal and advanced children the percentage increases. In other words, as the number of hours per day of work on the streets increases, the retarded children tend to form a larger and larger part of the total.

In fact, it can be demonstrated that as a group the retarded children are putting in longer hours of service than are the children whose school records show them to be in grades either normal or advanced for their ages.

Examination of the tables develops the point made above that the retarded children as a group are devoting more time to work on the streets than are the children of normal or advanced school standing. These figures may be summarized thus:

Of the normal and advanced group 63 per cent work two hours and less

Of the normal and advanced group 37 per cent work three hours and more

Of the normal and advanced group 16 per cent work four hours and more

Of the retarded group 44 per cent work two hours and less

Of the retarded group 32 per cent work four hours and more.

In brief, the percentages show that the degree of retardation increases with the length of the working day of these children, and that among retarded children those habitually working the greater number of hours are further behind in their grade than those who work a lesser number of hours.

## VII. Hours and Earnings.

When the matter of earnings is reviewed in the same way the same general facts appear. It is, of course, to be expected that



the children devoting the larger number of hours will show the greater earnings; and that also, as Hexter has shown in his Cincinnati study, the older boys are earning the larger sums. This is revealed to be the case in Connecticut. The retarded children constituting the older group are earning larger sums per day than are the younger children whose school standing is advanced or normal and who are devoting fewer hours per day to the work.

### Summary.

Save for the fact of the presence of child laborers on the streets of Connecticut cities, little has hitherto been known concerning them. The foregoing study has attempted, under the limitations of the time and funds at the disposal of the Child Welfare Commission, to establish some understanding of these children, and a few of the salient and more readily discoverable facts concerning them have been ascertained. Much remains to be accomplished in the study of Connecticut street traders before a complete program of remedial action may be resolved, for such a program must be based upon the fullest possible knowledge of the conditions and needs of these children.

1. The extent of employment of children on the streets in this state is not known. In the grammar schools of four selected cities some 1,200 children reported to their teachers that they were so engaged outside of school hours. How many failed to report; how many high school children are employed on the streets; how many in the parochial schools; how many in the other cities of the state? No one knows; no one may safely venture a guess at the figure.

2. More than this, nothing is known of their physical condition. Studies made in other localities have demonstrated that many of the street trading boys are suffering from serious physical defects or organic disturbances. On the questionnaire used in Connecticut a question was included relative to the health of the children. The results were not tabulated for the reason that it was concluded that the judgment of casual observers and lay persons could not be accepted as testimony on a matter so important as that of health.

3. Moreover, the relations\* between street trading and juvenile delinquency has not been subject of inquiry in Connecticut, although on this point also the results of studies in other communities have been most illuminating and conclusive. The Connecticut questionnaire asked with respect to each child whether or not he had ever been arrested or was on probation. The returns on these questions were not tabulated because in these matters also much room for doubt existed.

4. At present, then, facts are not available upon which to base a case that will justify the abolition of street trading by Connecticut children. On the other hand, this study has demonstrated not only that some form of regulation of street trading by children is necessary, but has indicated also precisely what the nature of that regulation should be. The problem as it has herein presented itself is very largely, if not entirely, educational in character.

5. A considerable number of these street trading children are doing well in their school work, and a few are doing superior work—in spite of it. But another disproportionately large group of these street traders consists of children who are far behind their grade when compared with the general school population.

6. This retarded group of children is largely composed of those whose long hours of employment outside of school with their relatively large earnings are detracting from the energy and interest which might otherwise be devoted to their more legitimate school work.

7. It is evident that regulation of street trading in Connecticut should aim at a reasonable control of the number of hours which school children shall be allowed to give to work on the streets.

8. No sufficient reason has been found why these hours of employment outside the school should not be so limited as not to interfere in any serious measure with school work. Although it appears that most of these children are actually contributing of their earnings to the family budget, the contribution from their labors to the support of their families is usually unneces-

sary and, from the viewpoint of American standards of living, undesirable; and granted that this extra income is necessary to the family, even then the additional amounts earned by the extension of the hours of labor to the point of interference with school work is not sufficient to justify the sacrifice.

9. The presence of retarded children in a class is always recognized as a handicap to the progress of the class as a whole; they are a chief source of anxiety and nervous strain for the teacher, and their presence in any considerable numbers in the schools is a distinct economic loss to the community. It is self-evident that the pupil who takes ten years or eleven years to accomplish work which ought to be done in eight or less, or who spend eight or ten years in covering ground that should be covered in six, and, probably the most serious count of all, leaves school but half educated, represents an unnecessarily large economic waste, and the community bears the expense.

10. Three-fourths of these street trading children come from homes in which the parents are both foreign-born. The public schools offer their one opportunity to come into intimate contact with the best that America has to offer: its language, its history, its standards, and its ideals. The interpretation of the land of their parents' adoption must come from outside the home—and this interpretation should not be that of the street. It is manifestly more important for these children to receive the fullest measure of the benefit from the education publicly provided than it is for any other single group in our schools today; and the group whose educational progress—on the basis of public policy—should be interfered with the least, should cease to be a group whose educational life, through diversion by outside interests is compromised the most. To this problem the educational authorities of the state of Connecticut should address themselves.

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The protection of childhood is costly. The standards we are willing to accept and carry forward are a test of democracy because they are a test of whether it is the popular will to pay the cost of what we agree is essential to the wise and safe bringing up of children.—*Julia Lathrop.*



## ENFORCEMENT OF THE STREET TRADES LAW IN BOSTON\*

MADELEINE H. APPEL

I assume that you would like to know three things about Boston: what the law regulating street trades is in Massachusetts, what machinery Boston has set up for its enforcement, and how the system is working.

For the purposes of this discussion, the law can be briefly stated: The minimum age for participation in street trades is 12 years for boys, and for girls 16 or 18, depending upon the size of the place. Boys under 16 must wear badges which are issued by the school authorities. They may not, of course, sell during school hours. The morning and evening hour limits for boys under 14 are 6 A. M. and 8 P. M., and for boys 14 to 16, 5 A. M. to 9 P. M. Enforcement is legally the duty of both attendance officers and police.

Through Mr. Philip Davis's book "Streetland" most of you are more or less familiar with the background of the Boston system of enforcing this law. In an attempt to bring about more adequate supervision of this type of child labor the School Committee in 1906 created the office of Supervisor of Licensed Minors. He was charged with the duty of licensing the boys and keeping constantly in touch with them through street inspections. Philip Davis was appointed to this position. He at once tried to win the cooperation of the boys, the keynote to my mind of any successful method of enforcement. It was not, however, until 1908, after Mr. Davis had become familiar with the Toledo Newsboys' Association, that the Boston Newsboys' Republic was organized.

In each school where there were ten or more newsboys, a captain and two lieutenants were elected. It was the duty of the captains to make a weekly street inspection of their districts and

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\*Paper read at Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor.

to make a monthly inspection at the school to see that every boy had his own badge and to find out if any had been lost. These elected representatives also sat as a congress which met quarterly to discuss the conduct of the trade and to make regulations governing it when this was necessary. Action taken was ratified at an annual convention held on June 17th. The Newsboys' Court or Trial Board was the outcome of the 1910 convention. It was set up in October of that year for the purpose of reducing the number of boys who came before the Juvenile Court. The Trial Board had five members, two adults appointed by the School Committee and three newsboys. This completed the machinery of self-government. What was vastly more important, however, was the spirit behind it. Through district and central meetings of a social or educational character, the supervisor won the friendship and confidence of many of the boys, and they began to realize the importance and dignity of their citizenship in the Newsboys' Republic. Supplementing the work of the Republic was a Newsboys' Club, where varying social activities were carried on.

You notice I have been using the past tense, because the Newsboys' Republic of today in Boston is only a ghost of its former self. Captains and members of the Trial Board are still elected annually, but apart from that action, the Republic as a whole does not function. It has seemed unwise to the present Supervisor to encourage the captains to make street inspections of their districts. They do, however, assist the Supervisor when he comes to their school to talk to the newsboys of the district. Neither the congress nor the annual convention meet now. The Newsboys' Club has recently disbanded.

The Trial Board, however, still sits regularly every Thursday evening. There is only one adult judge now and he acts as chief justice. The boys serve as interpreters. Because of the limitation of time, their advice in regard to the disposition of cases is not asked as often as one might wish. The Supervisor acts as prosecuting officer. One of the parents is required to appear with each child. Most of the 495 cases heard in 1921 were dismissed with a warning, but a number were placed on probation and the child required to appear before the Board each week. If a teacher has complained of a boy, he is asked to bring his school record with him. Only two cases were taken to the Juvenile Court. To date, there have

been six cases during the current year. One was a distributor who furnished an unlicensed boy with papers.

How well is the law being enforced today? As I have said above, the boy captains are no longer asked to make street inspections, so this is done almost entirely by the Supervisor himself with only spasmodic assistance from the police.\* It is an impossible task for one man to maintain strict enforcement single-handed. The boys know him too well and give warning up and down the line as soon as he comes in sight. The Supervisor has succeeded for the most part, however, in keeping under-aged boys from engaging in street trades, although violations do occur, especially during vacation times. The provision requiring boys to wear badges seems to be the most difficult to enforce. A recent street canvass in the busiest districts of the city showed that less than half had badges in evidence. Late selling at night is not very common, although a number of children can almost always be found on the streets after the evening hour limit. As a whole the law can be said to be only fairly well enforced in Boston. There is certainly room for improvement.

Methods of administering street trades laws must be adapted to the needs and resources of each community. What is essential, however, in my estimation, is an enforcing official with personality—a man who can lead boys and awaken their sense of responsibility instead of relying solely upon coercion.

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\* At one time a special police officer rendered valuable service in the enforcement of this law, but no such officer exists at the present time.



## STREET TRADES IN ALABAMA\*

LORAIN B. BUSH

For a number of years Alabama has been concerning itself with factory children and children engaged in various other kinds of work under *bona fide* employers in an attempt to give them an opportunity for some measure of education and also protection for their growing bodies, but it was not until about two years ago that we started an honest-to-goodness effort to extend this protection to the child laborer of the streets who has no employer except the public, which is much too absorbed in the larger affairs of the day to ponder very seriously upon its responsibility for the fate of the impressionable mites of humanity who are growing daily more precocious with the unhealthy wisdom of the streets.

The Alabama child labor law passed in 1915 contained a clause restricting the age of boys selling papers to 12 years and boys engaged in distributing papers to 10 years of age, and prohibiting street work for girls under 18. This law also made it necessary for boys to obtain a badge (his license) before they were able to qualify for this work, but a boy, when he had once secured the required badge, could sell at any and all hours of the day between 5 o'clock in the morning and 8 o'clock at night. I personally have known principals of schools, who, upon being notified by the newspapers that an extra edition was coming out, dismissed the newsboys to participate in the sale. The original act required that a boy should be a regular attendant at school and his record satisfactory before he could obtain a badge. But this new law prohibits the employment of a child under 14 years of age in any occupation whatsoever during the hours when the public schools of the district in which he resides are in session. The boy who formerly obtained his badge and sold during school hours, or who attended school irregularly, now, under the new legislation, forfeits his badge.

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\*Paper read at Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor.

The state child labor inspectors are too few and their inspections much too infrequent, to enforce this section of the law, but in the cities and counties where there are school attendance officers, the enforcement is mainly done by them under the direction of the state inspectors.

As a beginning of our new efforts to tighten up on street trades two years ago, we conducted three studies of hours, earnings and behavior of boys engaged in selling and distributing papers in three Alabama cities—Anniston, Mobile, and Montgomery. Last year, a second study was made of Mobile and a study was also conducted in Birmingham, the largest city in the state. The purpose of these studies was to determine whether the boys engaged in street trades were attending school regularly, and the effect of several hours of daily contact with the street upon the school work and the morals of the boys thus engaged.

One of these studies showed that 46 per cent of the boys wasted their earnings in gambling, picture shows, soft drinks, candy, and wiener sandwiches. This left a little over 50 per cent who spent their earnings for anything necessary or useful. As a consequence of street work less than 50 per cent of these boys received promotions at the end of the school year. In Mobile, 66 per cent of the boys working at street trading contributed nothing to the family coffers, but wasted their entire earnings much in the same manner as the boys had done in the first city studied. The result in this city was that nearly 75 per cent of the boys were graded below average in school, both in conduct and in scholarship. This meant that the number of boys in street trades in each of these cities who were wasting their earnings was running in the same proportion with the number of newsboys who were failing in their school work. In other words, school was running in competition with the excitement and dissipation of the street work with its late hours, little recreation, and its spirit of thriftlessness. The school was unable to cope with its rival in the case of from 55 per cent to 65 per cent of the boys, therefore, it was costing Alabama twice as much to educate, or rather, try to educate, these boys who must spend at least two years in a grade, not to mention the later cost to the state in losing this number of citizens who would not be properly trained or morally equipped to be independent and useful. A large percentage of the boys who were doing good work at school, despite



the street work, represented the naturally thrifty and industrious who usually came from the better homes and who had had a fair start at an education before they began street work.

It was found that the boys would congregate about the newspaper office for an hour or so before the papers came off the press, in order that they might be the first on the street. While waiting, they would pass the time matching pennies, rolling dice, fighting, using foul and profane language, and creating bedlam in general. The force about the distributing rooms usually encouraged the boys in their uproar by teasing them. When one boy was questioned as to how he spent his time while waiting for his papers, he replied: "We play in the basement but we have a fight most every day. Yesterday some of us boys bet Hugh that he could whip Gerald and we had the best time." "Did he whip him?" the inspector asked. "Not yet," the boy answered, "but they are going to finish this evening. Hugh had better whip him though or I am going to lose some money." "What did Mr. X., the man who gives out the papers, say about the fight?" asked the inspector. "Oh, he don't care," said the boy, "he said that he hoped Hugh would whip Gerald because he needed a good beating."

In one city it was found that the boys made only one cent on each paper sold. But the manager with great pride told the inspector that the boys could make much more than one cent if they were clever enough, because many customers would not ask for their change if the boy was alert or appealing, and others would not wait for their change if the boys would not be too hasty in making it. In other words, he was encouraging his boys not to make change unless asked for it and to appeal for tips to swell their earnings.

After the study was completed and a copy sent to the circulation manager, the inspectors started a campaign to better the conditions by enlisting the school attendance officer to keep close tab on the school attendance of the boys, and when they were not in regular attendance at school, to revoke the badges and notify the newspaper accordingly. The newspaper man, fearing that the result of the study was going to be made public and injure his paper, immediately took steps to assume some responsibility for the behavior of the boys about his establishment. The result was that the next year, when a similar study was conducted, it was found



that whereas 65 per cent of the boys had failed at school the year before, the number had decreased to more than half, or to 30 per cent, and 50 per cent of all boys in street trades were doing school work equal to the average of their class.

In the distributing room where chaos and uproar once reigned, the manager now provides games such as checkers, dominoes, jacks, etc., and the boys must obey certain rules of behavior and use no vulgar or profane language. For a violation of these rules of order they are fined from 10 cents up, according to the nature of the offense. A bonus system for regular selling has been instituted, and the fines are usually deducted from the bonus at the end of the week. Instead of fighting and struggling, as formerly, for the first place to receive the papers, the boys now take a number as they enter the room, and when the papers are ready for distribution, they assemble in line according to these numbers and receive their papers in a business-like and orderly manner.

Last year a study was conducted in Birmingham, Alabama's largest city, and 143 boys were studied, 107 of whom were street sellers, and the remaining 36 newspaper carriers who worked in the residence section only.

It was found that the boys engaged in street selling made about an average of \$6.50 a week and 30 per cent of the boys spent all their earnings for themselves, only 20 per cent having any savings accounts. Most of these accounts were merely a Christmas savings fund or else savings to buy a bicycle, or some such article which the boy desired. Forty-seven per cent were contributing none of their earnings to the family incomes. The boys who were engaged in delivering papers made an average of \$2.00 a week, and 44 per cent of the boys used all for spending money alone, only 14 per cent giving any of their earnings to their parents. When the school records were examined, 35 per cent of the sellers were found to be retarded, and although eight weeks of the school term remained at the time the study was made, the teachers estimated that at least 33 per cent of all the 143 boys studied would have to repeat their grades next year. It was learned, also, that almost without exception, the boys who were failing in their studies were those who had engaged in street work for the longest period of time. And while the teachers estimated that 67 per cent of the boys would pass their grades, they also estimated that only 29 per cent of all the boys

studied were doing work equal to, or above, the average for their classes. The school attendance of the boys was good, running 94 per cent good for the boys engaged in distribution, and 82 per cent good for the boys selling. This was a result of a vigorously enforced school attendance program in Birmingham and also due to the fact that a boy's badge is revoked unless he attends school regularly. Absences are followed up by the school attendance officer who issues the badges, and it is not infrequent that the badges are revoked by the attendance officer because of irregular school attendance. About 30 per cent of the boys doing street trading in Birmingham were found to come from broken homes, and the mothers of 23 per cent of the number were found to be engaged in some kind of work outside the home each day. This meant that one out of every four boys was left to his own resources from the time he left school until he returned home late at night. Twenty-eight per cent of the boys smoked, 10 per cent were habitual gamblers, 14 per cent frequently played truant, 12 per cent were known to be troublesome on the street, and 6 per cent had been caught stealing articles. A few of the boys coming from homes of especially poor environment were found to stay out all night, sometimes sleeping on the floors of the distribution room of the newspaper establishments, in nearby garages, or such sheltered places. The consequence was that eight per cent had been before the Juvenile Court. This number does not include those former newsboys who were then inmates of the Parental Home or the State Training School for Boys. Seventy-five per cent of the boys with Juvenile Court records had been selling papers for more than two years. Four of the boys had been before the court on three different occasions and two had been previously committed to the Training School for Boys, and later dismissed.

Fifty-seven per cent of these boys lived in the downtown sections and spent all their time after school on the streets, thus having no time or opportunity for play or recreation. When we stop to consider this condition, we are really astonished that more of the boys thus cut off from the normal activities of child life do not succumb to the evils of the street.

An interesting fact in connection with the studies of street trades made in Alabama, and the enforcement of the law pertaining thereto, is that the large dailies, instead of becoming antagonistic to the department, rallied to its cause promptly, and made appar-



ently very sincere efforts to better conditions. This has already been indicated in the report of the Mobile study where the manager of the *Mobile Register*, after our study, immediately set up certain rules and regulations promoting better standards which are still, more than two years later, in effect. On one occasion, friends in Louisiana who were trying to secure the passage of a child labor law applying to street trades, wired the Director of the State Child Welfare Department of Alabama, asking that she send the chairman of the House Committee having the Louisiana bill in charge, a telegram commending the advantages of the law in Alabama. Realizing that her opinion would have little weight with a legislature, the director, instead of sending telegrams over her own signature, called up the managers of all the big dailies in Alabama and assuring them that she would take care of all expenses, asked them to send the chairman of the committee at Baton Rouge a telegram, stating exactly their feelings about the child labor law. She urged them to be frank, whether their opinions were favorable or not. With only one exception, every big daily in Alabama forwarded at its own expense day-letters commending the street trades clause of the Alabama child labor law. The circulation manager of the *Birmingham News* said to the Louisiana Legislature, "If Alabama had had this law 20 years ago she would not have to concern herself so much today about illiteracy and other evils."

The difficulty of enforcement is greater in the smaller towns, where big dailies are controlled by unscrupulous agents, than in larger cities where pleasant and profitable contacts can be made with the managers themselves. We have just succeeded in having a form letter written by the circulation manager of the largest daily in Alabama to his agents, advising them that if the Department of Child Welfare continues to find non-observance of the law on the part of the agents they would be expected to resign. This sort of cooperation is very new and unique in Alabama.

Every year there are nearly 1,000 boys under 16 years of age in Alabama who take out licenses for street trades. This means that unless we work diligently, according to the statistics obtained from our studies, more than 500 boys will fail yearly in their school work because of street trades, to say nothing of their being exposed to the many hazards with which they are in daily contact.



The time will probably come when every American city will abolish street trading by children. But until such a time does come, we must work zealously and earnestly to check its abuses by perfecting the license system and by amplifying plans for closer supervision, with self-government as a basis for such supervision.

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Children deprived of play-life are robbed of their childhood—and the world can never repay what has been lost, even though it may try, in an agony of repentance, to compensate these children—for in this respect, there is no forgiveness of sin. Thousands of undeveloped children work in agricultural and street trades, factories and tenements, denied schooling and playtime, and are worn in body and mind.—*Royal Neighbor, Rock Island, Illinois.*

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Children, finishing the eighth or ninth grades, are too young to make the most of themselves in they leave school. They may enter industry, but, not knowing what they want to do, they will drift along for a number of years, forming habits of idleness and instability, which are costly to the community and harmful to the children.—*Frank Cody, Superintendent, Detroit Public Schools.*

# STREET TRADES IN CHICAGO\*

F. ZETA YOUNG

A report on street trades in Chicago must be one that concerns itself with the things that ought to be done rather than those which are actually accomplished. The chaotic condition of political affairs throughout the state reaches down to all ages and grades and touches the small boy selling newspapers as surely as it does the governor. Plans for a new street trades ordinance have been given up because of the general *impasse*.

There is no state law on street trades in Illinois. The situation in Chicago where the greatest activity in street selling shows itself is disposed of by an ordinance enacted in 1912. The provisions of this ordinance are as follows:

No girl under 18 may at any time sell anything on the streets or in public places.

Boys under 14 may pursue any of the occupations enumerated after 5 o'clock in the morning and before 8 o'clock at night.

Between the ages of 14 and 16 a boy who has on his person an age and school certificate may sell all night if he so chooses.

The ordinance further provides that the police officer who finds violations must inform his superior officer, who in turn must cause a letter of warning to be written to the boy's parents informing them of the nature of the violation. A second offense permits prosecution and the fine may not be more than one hundred dollars. The most serious difficulty in the way of strict enforcement is lack of cooperation on the part of the police.

Two obvious defects of this ordinance are that it sets no minimum age and that the clause, permitting a boy of 14 to sell at any hour of the day or night if he has a school certificate on his person,

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\*Abstract of paper read at Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor.

is out of date. The Certificating Bureau of the Board of Education no longer issues work certificates to boys but handles them through the employers.

The portion of the ordinance satisfactorily enforced is the paragraph which prohibits street selling by girls under 18. Girls are occasionally found selling papers or gum, but the practice is rarely persisted in after the first warning. The *Chicago Daily News*, which practically controls the conduct of the news-stands during the day, gives us very effective help in enforcing this part of the ordinance.

But for the violations of the ordinance by boys under 16 years of age there is no such clear-cut remedy. Although Mr. Wrigley is beginning to make gum-selling a part of the street trades problem, the selling of newspapers with the vast proportion of competition, of stimulating the public to buy, and of making it possible to purchase at every step without interfering with the regular pursuit of business, makes the newsboy the central figure of interest in street trades. One package of gum will last an ordinary individual for a day. One shoe shine per day would seem to be all that the average man needs, but the number of newspapers consumed by an individual appears to be measured only by the capacity of the newspaper to get out new editions.

The problem of day selling resolves itself into an effort to keep boys under 10 from selling at the news-stands and on the streets. The minimum age is not found in the ordinance but in a paragraph of the state dependency law, which includes street selling in a definition of a dependent child under 10. The difficulties of this problem may be suggested by the fact that the majority of news-stands are owned by Italians, and that apparently every Italian family that has a boy usually attempts to have him sell papers or black boots from the time he begins to go to school at six or seven years of age. These cases are controlled only in the more crowded districts and wherever the use of small children is perfectly obvious. That the law is not enforced throughout the city is beyond doubt, although the *Daily News* makes some effort to control this situation also.

Night selling, with its lure to boys already inclined to delinquency, is the worst problem that has to be faced. The news-stands are owned by the men who sell day papers. The night papers are sold by a different group, who use some of the same



stands and make them serve as a distributing center for the wagons. The men on the stands at night are often known only by nicknames—Shorty, Red Jake, or Speck. The work of selling has to be carried on somewhat differently from day selling. The purchasing groups are found in different places and are more widely scattered. Sometimes whole areas profitable for day selling are not at all profitable for night work. The men usually secure the services of a group of boys, who, according to the law, should be 16 years of age or have secured their work certificates. These boys usually sell on a commission basis, or 50 cents per hundred. A typical group of this sort was found in one district. Two or three nights in succession at 11 and 12 o'clock at night, six boys were found within a radius of three or four blocks from a certain stand selling papers. These boys were all under 14 years of age. Investigation showed all of them to have either delinquency or truancy records and bad home conditions; one was subnormal. After the first night we were never able to get in contact with the man for whom they worked. None of them knew him by any name but Shorty. A letter sent to the name and address he gave on the first night of the investigation was returned for better address. Men of this type may be found at any profitable corner after 10 o'clock at night. Policemen pass on their regular beats. Boys as young as eight may be selling at midnight week after week, but unless that boy's name and address and place of selling are sent to the precinct office, the lad will never be interfered with. It is illustrative of this situation that a boy of eight reported to be selling until 1 A.M. every night at a certain stand proved to be the son of a policeman.

In 1916 the news alley situation was investigated by the Juvenile Protective Association. Demoralizing conditions were found involving very young boys, many of whom slept in the alleys and were in contact with the most degraded types of men. The result of the survey was the promise of cooperation from certain of the newspapers and an order to exclude from the alleys boys under 16 in the future.

During the winter just past, the fever of competition among the newspapers resulted in the establishment of lotteries. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were advertised to be given away to the holders of lucky numbers, and the tremendous increase in circulation that resulted broke down all the restraint in the use of carriers.

The public must be satisfied with newspapers and lottery tickets. Papers were piled on the street corners in mountainous heaps and the streets swarmed with boys of all ages selling until one o'clock in the morning. An appeal was made to the Chief of Police for the enforcement of the street trades ordinance. Before the lotteries had ceased to function, the police made a vigorous effort to get the boys off the streets, but unless the attention of the Chief had been called to the situation it is very likely that no policeman in the city would have considered it his duty to interfere with the business of distributing newspapers and lottery tickets. At this time the boys found their way again to the news alleys where newspapers were again distributed to them.

The attitude of the men in charge of the circulation department is illustrated by a night investigation. This newspaper was publishing an edition that came from the delivery room at 8 o'clock. The street trades ordinance says that no boy under 16 without a certificate may sell after 8 o'clock. On the night in question, 11 boys started into the newspaper alleys just before 8 o'clock. Behind them, through the swinging doors, walked two officers of the Juvenile Protective Association. They followed the boys through the room from which papers are distributed to the wagons. The manager of that room was about to put into the arms of the first boy a bundle of papers, when he happened to see the officers. He snatched the papers from the boy and said to the group of prospective purchasers, "It's against the law for you boys to get papers here. Get out." The oldest boy in the group was 12 and the youngest 7 years. They had been purchasing their papers from the alleys for two months. They all came from one neighborhood; all attended one school and were there to help an 11-year old boy who had an established afternoon paper route with his older brother.

How many newsboys are employed in Chicago, what are their general living conditions, how their occupation affects their school work, and how the question is related to delinquency, we have no adequate way of knowing. A tentative plan was outlined by the Juvenile Protective Association this year for a new street trades ordinance that should set a minimum age for day selling, fix a minimum age for night selling at 16, and establish a licensing system to be handled through the Board of Education. The Superintendent of Schools, Mr. Mortenson, and Miss Anne Davis, head of the



Vocational Guidance Bureau, were very willing to cooperate in securing such an ordinance and to undertake the issuing of licenses or permits. This plan had to be given up until the present political crisis involving the Board of Education is over.

A survey of seven schools, made by the Vocational Guidance Bureau, in regard to after-school occupations, has given us the first glimpse of the actual situation in regard to street trades from the school point of view. Of the 123 boys who stated that they were occupied after school in street trades, 74 were newsboys, 44 bootblacks, three peddlers of gum, one top seller, and one a distributor of hand-bills. Of these, 89 were Italians, 9 Polish, 8 Jewish, 5 German, and 3 Bohemian. The balance of 9 was divided among 8 different nationalities.

The basis of employment of the 74 *newsboys* was as follows: 6 sold on commission, 8 could not tell the basis of arrangement, 10 were employed by near relatives at a stated wage, 14 were selling for themselves on a purchase and sale basis, and 36 were employed at a stated wage by stand owners not related. None of these were certificated for work.

The grades in school included everything from the second grade to high eighth. Rank in school was as follows: 33 were in the first rank in grade, 45 in the middle rank, 30 in the third, 13 were marked failure, and only 1 was classified as subnormal. This is significant from the point of view of fairly efficient school work being carried on with an after-school occupation. The lack of subnormality is also noteworthy, especially when compared to the number of subnormal children found begging on the market streets.

Out of the whole number of boys occupied in street trades (123), 104 boys stated that the money earned was given to the mother to spend; only 16 reported the use of any part of their earnings by themselves, and only 13 stated that the money was saved.

One of the most interesting situations disclosed by the information gained was in regard to the amount of time spent in street selling, the amount of money earned, and the methods of business contract. The deductions from this portion of the survey have not been completed, but it is quite obvious that the boys who are paid a stated wage and work at a stand owned by a man *not a relative* are the most satisfactorily paid.



The street trades ordinance is based upon the proposition that a boy is selling for himself. The statistics just given show a much greater proportion regularly employed at a stated wage. For years the State Factory Department, sustained by the Attorney General, refused to consider this employment as a violation of the child labor law. Under the present administration of the Department of Labor a deputy factory inspector has been assigned to the Vocational Guidance Bureau and a Department of Industrial Studies established. A report from this new Department indicates the close cooperation and extended interpretations of law given by the Department of Labor.

Both the Employment Certificate Department of the Board of Education and the State Factory Department are attempting to give the widest meaning possible to the state child labor law. In doing this, they are including occupations which might be considered as coming under the city ordinance on street trades. As the standards of the child labor law are much higher than those of the city ordinance, the Department feels that it is improving the situation by having the state law encroach upon the territory as far as possible. With the child labor law operating in all cases where a boy is actually employed at a stated wage—an arrangement which has always proved to be the safest and best for the children concerned—it will only remain to control the free-lancers, who are rapidly decreasing in number. This progressive attitude on the part of the State Factory Department and the Board of Education will greatly simplify the street trades situation.

The most crying need is that of a clear-cut limitation on night selling and a stringent enforcement of it. The Juvenile Protective Association is accumulating information on the demoralizing effects of night selling that should be of potent value in securing better enforcement of the present ordinance, and in breaking down all opposition to a definite age limit of 16 for night work.

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The world is moving in a way to show increasing solicitude for the welfare of children. Scholarship, as well as sympathy; insight into the future, as well as understanding of the present; respect for the natural and divine rights of childhood, rather than for worn-out social philosophy and fallacious property rights; these are conspicuous in the drift of the world today.—*Reverend William J. Kerby, Secretary, National Conference of Catholic Charities.*

# STREET TRADES IN PENNSYLVANIA\*

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BRUCE WATSON

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The Pennsylvania Child Labor Law of 1915 provides that:

"No male minor under twelve years of age, and no female minor, shall distribute, sell, expose, or offer for sale any newspaper, magazine, periodical, or other publication, or any article of merchandise of any sort, in any street or public place. No male minor under fourteen years of age, and no female minor, shall be suffered, employed, or permitted to work at any time as a scavenger, bootblack, or in any other trade or occupation performed in any street or public place. No male minor under sixteen years of age, and no female minor, shall engage in any occupation mentioned in this section before six o'clock in the morning, or after eight o'clock in the evening, of any day."

The enforcement of the act is made the duty of the police, the inspectors of the Department of Labor and Industry and the attendance officers of the public schools. Between these three agencies the enforcement of the street trades section goes by default. It is the old story of divided responsibility, plus the constant menace of a powerful newspaper influence that is opposed to enforcement.

Other sections of the law are pretty well enforced by these same agencies, and the reason for the utter breakdown of the street trades section is doubtless the fact that the newspapers are the worst offenders and possess enormous political power. All enforcement officers and their superiors know what will happen if they do anything to interfere with the convenience or profit of the publishers. Efforts to secure enforcement are met by violent opposition on the part of three-fourths of the newspapers, and with rare exceptions the other fourth give no active support.

The repeated studies made by our association have produced information not unlike many others made in almost every part of the country by many different agencies.

Children of tender years are on the street at all hours of the night and day, many of them contributing nothing to their own

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\*Paper read at Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor.

support, but using their earnings in attendance at shows, in gambling, and in gratification of various tastes and desires. Begging is common, the papers being used merely as a cover. Most people who are inclined to look with tolerance upon the evil give the matter but little thought, and make no distinction between legal and illegal selling.

But a small percentage of the children violating the law are forced by economic necessity to do so.

A very large percentage have a record of poor school attendance, retardation, and various forms of delinquency. At first thought the obvious conclusion is that street trades should be controlled by the police, because the police are everywhere and have ample authority.

Long-continued study and careful analysis of the matter has convinced us that it is not a police job, for these reasons:

The business of the police is to look after the safety of citizens. They deal with adult law-breakers and criminals. They have neither the intelligence nor the point of view required for this task. A proper handling of street trade violations reaches into the home and sometimes into the school, where the officer on the beat cannot go. Finally—*the police will not do it.*

Almost the same reasons apply against reliance upon the inspectors of the State Labor Department for the performance of this duty.

Every one of these considerations points to the school department as the proper agency to deal with this problem. It has the intelligence, the point of view, the necessary organization, and many contacts with the child through the school and the home.

Acting in accordance with this belief, the Public Education and Child Labor Association of Pennsylvania prepared and promoted in the legislature of 1921 a bill fixing responsibility for enforcement of the street trades section directly upon school authorities.

It provided as follows:

"In every school district of the first, second or third class, authority for the enforcement of section seven of this act shall be vested also in the board of school directors thereof. In every such school district, the board of school directors shall employ attendance officers sufficient in number to enforce thoroughly the provisions of said section. Said board of school directors may make such regulations and adopt such plans as it may deem



wise or necessary for properly carrying out the provisions of said section, subject to the approval in writing of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

"In case of failure of the board of school directors of any such school district to properly enforce said section seven, it shall be the duty of the Superintendent of Public Instruction to withhold any order for such district's share of the state appropriation until such failure has been corrected."

This bill advanced smoothly to third reading in the House of Representatives, when the newspaper men discovered it, got it referred back to the committee that had reported it out, and secured a hearing at which the papers were represented by a large delegation whose chief spokesman was a prominent attorney who had been retained by them. The representative of one Harrisburg paper appeared in behalf of the bill.

The usual specious arguments were offered, namely: "that the enforcement of the law would work a hardship on poor families and that paper-selling was a school of business for the youngsters."

It was evident that the hearing was intended largely as a matter of form, for the newspaper association brought its influence to bear upon the political leaders of the dominant party. Word was passed out to kill the bill, and it never afterwards emerged from committee.

Then a movement was begun to persuade school boards voluntarily to assume the responsibility (they already had the authority) of enforcing the street trades section. Up to the present time, the Philadelphia School Board is the only one which has complied. It has detailed two attendance officers, under direction of Mr. Henry J. Gideon, Chief of the Bureau of Attendance, on full time, to handle the problem. Their effort thus far has been directed at the evil of night selling, by boys under 16 years of age after 8 P.M. While they have ample authority to take violators into custody, they find it best to adopt other methods at first. Their procedure is as follows:

When a child under legal age is first picked up, the child is warned, his name and residence are taken and next morning his parents are visited and warned. Seventy-five per cent of the parents are ignorant of the law, although before this plan was put in operation a printed copy of the law was given to each child in school to be taken home to his parents.

On second offense the child and his parents are summoned to the school attendance office and there reprimanded.

On third offense, if it appears to be the parent's fault, he is summoned to the magistrate's court and given a suspended sentence. If the parent seems to have the right attitude, but is unable to control the child, both parent and child are summoned to the House of Detention, where a formal hearing is held and both child and parent warned of the consequence of another violation.

In the four months that have elapsed since the inauguration of this plan there has not been a fourth offense. When a fourth case occurs, the suspended sentence will be enforced and the penalty increased, if the fault is the parent's. If the child is beyond the parent's control, he will be sent to an institution.

As the work progresses, it is planned that first offenses shall be reported to the regular school attendance officer working in the field where the child lives, and that officer will make the home visitation. In most cases he will know the child, the parents, and the child's record.

While this work has been going on for only four months, very slowly and cautiously certain results are apparent.

While at first each officer found an average of fifteen violations in a night's work, he now finds only five or six, mostly new cases.

This is largely due to the plan whereby the "corners" are assigned to boys by the various circulation managers of the newspapers. When a boy has been picked up, the manager assigns a new boy to his corner. Better cooperation of the circulation managers is hoped for in future.

While it is easier to establish a case against the night work as dangerous to health and morals, yet the larger problem is that of afternoon selling. By far the greater numbers are employed then, and more violations of the law occur. It is against any curtailment of either legal or illegal selling in the afternoon that newspaper opposition is strongest.

We are hoping that when the illegal night work is well under control the Philadelphia Board of Education may be persuaded to authorize its attendance officers to attack the afternoon and morning problem.

Already the attendance officers assigned to this work have found the need and the means of a very helpful social work. Where children violating the law come from homes of manifest economic need, the officers have sometimes been able to put them in touch with

social agencies which have helped them to better self-support. Sometimes the officers have been able to connect the children with positions where they could earn money legally. One fifteen-year-old boy was putting himself through high school by illegal paper selling at night. The circulation manager who employed him was notified and promised to find other employment for the boy by which he could earn his support without breaking the law.

The attendance officers have arranged with the state employment office to send unemployed men to the circulation managers to replace boys selling illegally. One circulation manager promised to take all men that were sent.

During March, April and May, 418 violations were found, 176 cases were investigated at the schools attended, and 311 at the homes; 108 hearings were held at the attendance office and five cases were taken into court.

Our field worker is now out among the second and third class cities of the state in an effort to induce the school authorities of those cities to follow the lead of the Philadelphia Board in assuming responsibility for the control of street trades and to go farther than the Philadelphia Board has gone.

Most school superintendents are in sympathy with the plan and in a few instances the attendance officers have done a little on their own responsibility. One superintendent assured our worker that there was no street trade problem in his city, and that if she found a case of law violation and would report it to him, he would attend to it forthwith. Within a very few hours she found a girl of 13 and her brother of 11 working for a man named Wilson, from 6 to 9 P.M. She also found and reported three boys aged 7, 9, and 10, selling in the afternoon. His response was as follows: "By putting your letter in the hands of the truant officer, he declares that it is legal for the children to work these hours. I am happy to hear that this is all you have found wrong in B." A further letter from our worker explaining to the superintendent the incorrectness of his attendance officer's information met no response. Fortunately this superintendent is the exception rather than the rule.

A study of the street trades made recently in Pittsburgh brought out the following facts:

Fifty-three per cent of the newsboys of the city are violating the law.



Boys of two and three years of age are selling papers. (The youngest newsboys our own workers in the state have found were four years old.)

Nearly 75 per cent of the boys are retarded one or more years at school.

Eighty per cent come from normal homes, the father living and supporting the family.

Only one-sixth of the boys contribute anything to the support of the home. Their money goes to the movies, is lost in crap games, or is spent for candy and ice cream.

The average hourly earnings are about four cents.

Of 1200 newsboys, 197 boys under 14 years of age were selling after 8 P.M. The law says that no boy under 16 may sell after 8 P.M.

100 boys under 12 were selling after 8 P.M.

772 boys, 65 per cent of the cases, studied, began to sell before they were 12 years old.

The Rochester Reform School draws 75 per cent of its inmates from the newsboy ranks; Hart's Island (New York City) 63 per cent; Glen Mills (Philadelphia), 77 per cent; Cincinnati 28 per cent; Thornhill (Pittsburgh) 66 per cent.

Thirteen per cent of the cases studied admitted that they gambled and ten per cent admitted that they smoked.

Five per cent of the boys received major bodily injuries in the streets in one year. In many cases these injuries were very expensive for the parents.

"The newspaper authorities themselves stimulate boys to become 'newsies.' The more boys they have the more papers they can sell."

Fifty-six per cent of the Pittsburgh newsboys have foreign-born parents.

The whole situation in Pennsylvania may be summarized in a brief statement, as follows:

The street trade evil in Pennsylvania has the same characteristics that it has in every other state, with no real attempt on the part of any responsible authority to check or control it except in rare instances. The prevailing urban population intensifies the evil and increases the problem.

# A MODEL STREET TRADES LAW\*

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WILEY H. SWIFT

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If I should be asked to draft a model street trades law, good for any and all states, I would decline with thanks. It can't be done. Laws cannot be packed up and sent around like smoking tobacco in tin boxes.

Laws grow like corn, and however well one might do in drafting any law, one would be unwilling to call it a model law—certainly after the day of its enactment. Conditions change from day to day, and besides, what would be a good law for one state would not be a good law for another. Laws of value spring from the social life and historical development of the people—they should never be either forced or grafted.

There are, however, in this matter of street trading, some rather well-accepted standards. You must have been struck with how nearly everyone who has spoken this afternoon agreed with the other speakers as to what ought to be done. You have observed also that those who have spoken have come from different parts of the country. We may therefore conclude that throughout the country there is a rather definite opinion as to who may, and who ought not to engage in street trading.

I may, I think, be permitted to call your attention to another most interesting fact which no one has so far mentioned. The people of towns from ten to one hundred thousand inhabitants are beginning to make observations on their own account, and to feel that something should be done for the regulating of street trades in even smaller cities and towns. They are even beginning to talk in our language. Right now, throughout the country the regulation of child street trading is a vital question. I know of one state child supervising agency that is making an inquiry into this matter

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\*Abstract of a discussion by Mr. Swift at the Seventeenth National Conference on Child Labor.

at this very time, and is planning to recommend and urge at the next session of the legislature such legislation as, after inquiry and study, it deems wise. We may therefore prepare ourselves to make such contributions as possible in the formulating of street trades laws.

If I were called upon to aid in the drafting of a street trades act for any state, I would suggest that the following features be given careful consideration:

1. No street trading for girls under 18 years of age. It would be better if this could be made 21, and in time I believe that it will be 21 in most of the states.

2. No street trading at night for boys under 16 years of age. It would be better if this could be made 18 and in time it probably will.

3. No street trading by boys under 12 years of age. It would be better if this could be made 14 in all the states, but in states where there is no regulation, or very little regulation, if certain other features, which I am about to suggest, were written into the law, there would be no great necessity for insisting upon 14 instead of 12. We may have to approach the best gradually.

4. The state-wide act should fix minimum standards only. The act itself should carry a provision authorizing any city or town to fix and enforce higher standards if it chooses to do so. The state should hold the local community up to a certain level in child care, but should not hold it back from going higher.

5. Every boy under 16 years of age engaging in street trading should be required to hold a license in the form of a badge, good at most, for not more than one year, and granted by the officer authorized by law to grant work permits under the general child labor law. I see no reason for having two persons or agencies authorized to grant licenses for the employment of children. A badge is in reality a license on display. These badges should be granted only after there has been a proof of age as required by the child labor law, and a lawful certificate of both physical and mental fitness for street trade work. This is, I believe, a new feature. We have been press-



ing the matter of certificates of physical fitness for ordinary employment, but so far as I know, have not insisted upon such certificates for street trading. I see no good reason why such certificates should not be required for street trading and there are many reasons why this certificate should cover mental as well as physical fitness. These badges should be granted upon the condition that they may be revoked, whenever it appears that street trading interferes with the child's health or his progress at school.

If these provisions and this condition were written into the law and properly enforced, it seems to me that a 12-year age limit for street trading for boys would be much better than a 14-year age limit without them.

6. In the discussion I should raise the question of the number of hours of employment. Not much, if anything, has been said upon this question, but it is one that we shall have to meet. The 8-hour standard for children under 16 is now rather well established in ordinary employment.

Schooling, if it is worth anything at all, is work. Going to school is harder than hoeing corn—I have tried both. If a child can stand more school work than is given in the ordinary school day, then we might well lengthen the school day. Schools exist for children, and not for teachers. Whether we should insist upon an 8-hour day only, including the hours of school, I am not certain, but I am very certain that a boy under 16 years of age should not be permitted to go to work selling papers at 6 o'clock in the morning, work until 9 o'clock, go to school until 2:30, and then sell papers until 8 o'clock in the evening. By a little calculation you will see that we thus get a 14-hour day. All will agree that that is too much.

7. Finally, I should seek to have incorporated into the law a provision that any child who is found engaging in street trades in violation of any of the provisions of the law, should be treated by the Juvenile Court as a delinquent, dependent, or neglected child, as the circumstances may show. I would suggest this for two reasons:

- (a) To reach the independent child street trader who has so far, in some states, been almost a person above all law, and

- (b) because more and more we are coming to understand that the Juvenile Court, rather than the criminal, should take cognizance of all matters relating to the welfare of children.

In any state I would content myself with these suggestions and leave to the members of the legislature and other interested organizations and citizens the actual wording of the law. That, I am sure, is the only way by which a fairly good street trades law can be assured for any state.

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Not an unoccupied but a well-occupied childhood is the aim of child labor reform.

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In a community that is not poverty stricken and that has educational institutions of high grade, with decent employment opportunities for adults, the child-labor situation should be much above the standards set by law. Heroic efforts should be made to keep children in school, to adjust their educational program, and to make continued education profitable and possible, whatever the minimum standards of law may be.—*Miss Tracy Copp, Wisconsin Industrial Commission.*

# JUVENILE STREET WORK IN IOWA

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SARA A. BROWN

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City streets and their relation to the welfare of young children receive consideration by those interested in children's play, work, health, morals, and habit-forming experiences. Child labor in city streets with its accompanying results in terms of child life has challenged students of the subject in the United States and England for a quarter of a century or more. Recent studies deal in the main with street work in large cities and record conditions of which the general public has little or no knowledge. Among such studies are *Child Labor in City Streets*, *Toledo School Children in Street Trades*, *Newsboys of Dallas*, *Newsboys in Birmingham*, and *The Newsboys of Cincinnati*.

The National Child Labor Committee, in contact with children's work in rural communities and small cities, finds that in many localities young children work on the streets under conditions which violate lowest accepted standards for their protection, while in others they do the same kind of work under conditions which compare favorably with best known regulation of child labor. In an effort to find out how effectively street work is regulated and what supervision is afforded young children engaged in it in small cities, we undertook a brief study of juvenile street trades in Iowa. The state has eighteen cities of more than ten thousand inhabitants and a capital rapidly developing the conscience and the conditions of a large city. Iowa has a street trades law, a good compulsory education law and altogether may be considered in many respects a typical mid-western commonwealth with sane, advancing ideals as to what work is suitable for children, safeguarding all against those forms of work which deprive them of education, health, wholesome play, instruction in religious ideals, and strength of character, in other words, against child labor.

We group the findings under three main heads: I. Introduction. (1) The law; (2) the study. II. Statement of findings.



(1) Nature of street work; (2) newspapers' plans for distribution; (3) administration of the law; (4) social status of parents; (5) length of career and earnings; (6) neglect of carriers; (7) lack of supervision; (8) school records of 167 sellers and 70 carriers; (9) records of delinquency; (10) street-workers in the State Training School for Boys. III. Conclusions.

## INTRODUCTION

The Iowa child labor law enacted in 1915 has a section on street trades applying to cities of over ten thousand inhabitants. It designates an age limit of 11 for boys and 18 for girls. Judges of Superior or Municipal Courts may authorize officers to issue permits to boys under 11 years, in exceptional cases. Boys between 11 and 16 may work between the hours of 4 A.M. and 7.30 P.M. during school terms and 8.30 P.M. during school vacations. Administration rests with the Board of Education. Badges are issued by the same officers handling work permits, with the same requirements except filing of employer's agreements. The street trades provision requires (1) a school record certifying that the boy is regularly attending school and that the work will not interfere with his progress in school; (2) a certificate signed by a medical inspector of schools or physician appointed by the Board of Education certifying the boy has reached normal development for a child of his age and is in sufficiently sound health and physically able to perform the work; (3) evidence of age requires: (a) transcript of birth certificate; (b) a passport or transcript of baptismal certificate; (c) a school census record; or (d) in case none of these is obtainable, a physician's certificate. Enforcement rests with attendance officers of the public schools. Violation is a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of not more than \$15.00. Whoever furnishes or sells any article to any boy in violation of law shall be fined not less than \$15.00 and not more than \$100.00. Reports are made annually, sometimes monthly, to the State Commissioner of Labor Statistics and specify the number of children licensed for street trades. It is the opinion of the Labor Commissioner and of the Attorney General that final responsibility for securing enforcement of the law rests with the State Commissioner of Labor.

There are 18 cities in the state with a population of more than

10,000. Des Moines alone has more than 100,000; Sioux City and Davenport, more than 50,000; Cedar Rapids, close to 50,000; Waterloo, Dubuque, and Council Bluffs more than 35,000. This report is based on findings in four cities: Des Moines, 126,468; Davenport, 56,727; Cedar Rapids, 45,566, and Mason City, 20,065.\* In these cities, in March and April, 1922, there were 1,542 boys licensed for or engaged in street work. Data were obtained from age, grade and attendance records of 167 out of 212 street sellers, 70 out of 573 carriers in Des Moines; from records of former street workers now wards of the State Training School for Boys at Eldora, and reports of the State Commissioner of Labor Statistics.

## STATEMENT OF FINDINGS

### **Nature of Street Work**

The nature of systematic street work carried on throughout the state is principally the distribution and sale of newspapers and periodicals. Carriers and street sellers of local and out-of-town dailies, of magazines and periodicals are found in all parts of the state and everywhere an effort of some sort is made to provide badges as required by law. Spasmodic distribution of hand-bills and free samples (such as breakfast foods and washing powders) and the sale of popcorn and paper flowers during county and state fairs or on circus days, are included in the street trades provision, but not at present covered in its administration. Children working in public markets, in shoe-shining establishments, and delivery and messenger boys are subject to regulation under other sections of the child labor law.

### **Newspapers' Plans for Distribution**

Important factors contributing to conditions under which children work, and influencing the officers issuing permits, are newspapers' plans and organization for distribution in downtown streets and to subscribers in their homes. The emphasis placed on street sales and on distribution to subscribers depends largely on the number of people on the streets, the distance of business men and shoppers from their homes, and on means of transportation

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\* Population figures, *Official Register*, 1922.

from downtown districts. Papers for distribution on the streets are handled in three ways: (1) through hustlers employed by the paper; (2) through a news agency; or (3) direct with the sellers. Carriers may sell on their routes but always only as a side issue—their first responsibility being to “carry” papers to subscribers. Distribution in downtown places of business and in residential districts by means of carriers is handled in two ways: (1) boys go to newspaper offices where they are given their bundles of papers and where they fold them; (2) bundles are delivered to a corner near the boys’ routes by means of a truck or street car. Some papers use both methods, a fourth or more of the boys going to the downtown offices for their bundles. Through the courtesy of circulating managers we visited most of the distributing rooms, when newsboys were present. The rooms vary in size and character from a large, cheerful office on the first floor entered from the street, to dark, dingy basements reached only through narrow stairs from an alley. In a few instances boys are allowed to loaf about the alley spending their time in idleness, smoking cigarettes. In two or three instances they are subjected to swearing and rough treatment at the hands of truck drivers eager to load up and start on their rounds.

An observer of street sales can usually determine which method of distribution predominates in a city by the way boys pursue their sales.

For instance: In Davenport we found it necessary to follow a small boy two blocks, wait while he looked wistfully in a bakery window, went in, bought a cream puff and came out eating it, before we had any opportunity to buy a paper.

One stormy night in Mason City we could find no newsboy on the streets within an hour after the daily was off the press. In Cedar Rapids and Des Moines no matter what the weather, we were besieged at every downtown corner, and two or three times between corners, by from one to five boys eagerly and lustily crying their wares.

Des Moines and Cedar Rapids feature street distribution through hustlers, while Davenport and Mason City pay slight attention to street sales and feature distribution to subscribers in their homes; the former handle street sales through a news agency and the latter direct with a small and uncertain number of boys. News-stands operated by adults are found at frequent intervals in Des Moines.



In Mason City they are found in comparatively large numbers in stores handling books, drugs, and cigars, in barber shops, and real estate offices. Several newspaper men look upon the news-stand as a good business for the owner but not satisfactory for speedy street sales.

The hustler or street man usually advances from street seller and it is said to be practically the only promotion to look forward to. One hustler in Des Moines has been with the same paper twenty years; one in Cedar Rapids seven, another five. Several began as newsboys at five years of age. Two brothers are making their way through high school and college. Among others we find truck drivers, wrestlers, and promoters of boxing matches. Hustlers have entire charge of the boys, and their influence over them depends largely on their own character and ideals and their business methods and attitude toward young children. They frequently believe in using small boys on the streets because they consider *they* made a success. One said, "Take little fellows and they can sell all round the big uns"; another, "Selling papers is a kid's job. When they get nine or ten they are too old."

Hustlers are responsible for estimating the number of papers required for street distribution based on the history of sales at various points. They assign boys to locations according to their ability to handle the number stipulated, instruct them in methods of selling, and promote or demote them as circumstances warrant. They usually require each boy to pay for the total number of papers assigned to his location whether he sells them or not. One hustler explained, "If the order is stuffed, I sometimes take papers back, otherwise, I never do." Payment is made daily, usually after the papers are sold; a few are required to pay in advance.

Anxious to keep favorable locations, newsboys resort to a variety of methods to dispose of the required number of papers. Large boys shove them off on little fellows. Several have a list of friends who "feel sorry for me and buy all I have"; many use small brothers, cousins and friends as helpers, and all cry the most sensational news to attract attention and sales. Discussing with a small boy whether murder made good sales, he replied, "Naw, murder don't go no more." Instances came to our attention of avaricious parents inflicting severe punishment on boys when they took an arm full of papers home instead of a purse full of coins.

Papers employing no street circulator sell direct to the boys for cash. Each boy determines his number and sells regularly or not, as he chooses. Whether he develops sales as a business depends upon him and in no way on the newspaper. A news agency handles all street sales in Davenport. Boys licensed to sell deal direct with the agency, pay in advance for any number they want and make it a regular business or not, as they choose.

Carriers are responsible for papers reaching subscribers on time. The member of the circulating department in charge of carriers usually imposes a penalty of some kind in case a paper fails to reach its destination. It may be a demerit, as in Cedar Rapids, and after a certain number of demerits the boy is dismissed or is transferred to a less desirable route. If no complaints are registered against him during the month he may receive a cash bonus as reward of merit. A cash penalty of 25 cents per paper is required of carriers in Des Moines when the office sends a special carrier to a subscriber. Those required to collect from all subscribers on their routes are held responsible for payments in full. In case a subscriber moves or for any reason fails, the boy pays.

With few exceptions newspapers in the four cities are cheerfully working with local authorities responsible for enforcing the street trades law, and acknowledge that regulation, though faultily administered, makes for more satisfactory work from the standpoint of the paper on the part of the boy.

### **Administration of the Law**

Badges are issued by or under the direction of school attendance officers, who are already responsible for a multiplicity of tasks connected with truancy, work permits, supervision of employed minors, vocational training, taking of school census, and handling so-called delinquents. The letter-head of Des Moines' department enumerates compulsory attendance, employment permits, placement, continuation school, delinquent children, school census, visiting teacher, and newsboys. All these are so persistent in their demands upon the officers' time and thought that street traders are crowded into the background and receive little or no attention. Then, too, officers are usually appointed for reasons other than their qualifications for or training in dealing with intimate and complicated problems of children seeking to enter employment,

their family and home life, requiring as we believe a technical skill, an understanding of children and a deep-seated social philosophy.

In the four cities no perceptible number of children of school age sell on the streets during school hours. As one means of keeping the school spirit high in the community, Davenport discourages boys selling during school hours even on holidays. In Cedar Rapids and Des Moines they sell in rather large numbers during noon hours and on holidays. The half-day shifts in Des Moines high schools make it easy for many to sell during hours they are expected to spend in home study. The majority of the newsboys comply with local requirements and have badges, though many have not.

Emphasis is everywhere misplaced on the *badge* rather than the significance of the permit back of it.

For instance: It is not infrequent in Des Moines for a boy just past his eleventh birthday to rush into the office of the Attendance Department after 3.30 o'clock with a bundle of papers under his arm. Often he is introduced by a boy who has a street badge. To him, it is apparently a very important matter. He must have a badge, and he has the necessary quarter to pay for it, because he *must* sell his papers. The young woman who issues badges accepts the boy's statements of age, grade, height and weight. She then consults the last school census, which is in the same office. If the boy is enumerated there and his age is 11, he goes from the Attendance Office the proud possessor of a metal badge, licensed as a street seller.

The purpose of the law is to insure protection, direction and supervision to young children. The boy's application for a badge is but a beginning and in no sense an end. It should open the way for a thorough inquiry into matters specified in the law, his home life, why he seeks to spend from two to four hours every day working on the streets, to what purpose he will use his earnings, the attitude of his parents, whether the matter has been seriously considered by his family, whether it is necessary or wise, whether he plans to enter permanently the ranks of employed children and with whom he will associate. Unless the badge signifies that the officer has full knowledge pertaining to such matters and is responsible to the community for carefully supervising the boy after he begins work, the value attached to the piece of metal or celluloid, as the case may be, is all out of proportion to its real significance.

The Superior or Municipal courts do not handle requests for



street permits of boys under eleven, with the exception of the Judge of Superior Court in Cedar Rapids, who during the course of one year has asked the truancy officer to issue badges to about 70 boys under the age of eleven years. This is done without an intimate knowledge of all facts in the social history of the child and his family, and in spite of the Judge's personal acquaintance with many of the boys and his keen interest in their welfare, the badge does not insure supervision and protection to the child who wears it.

Officers require the consent of parents before badges are issued, with the exception of those in Des Moines. We talked with mothers there in their own homes, who claimed they did not know their boys were selling papers on downtown streets after school.

Everywhere children as young as six and seven years help older boys as carriers and as street sellers. In Cedar Rapids many as young as six sell on downtown streets. In Davenport and Des Moines several little fellows watch papers while older boys scout about. Others sell for the "big guy" for 25 cents a night or a half of his sales. Many are on downtown streets after 8.30 at night, and in Des Moines on Saturday nights boys ten and eleven were selling as late as 11.30 to after-theatre crowds.

Nowhere is a physician's certificate required except in Cedar Rapids, where private physicians contribute their services to individual children. In Davenport the officer consults the record of the last examination made by the school physician who checks up on them as conditions require. This is likewise true of children receiving work permits. Cedar Rapids and Mason City employ no school physicians. Des Moines has a well-organized system of school clinics with hours elastic enough to take care of all children who attend. Yet for no child entering employment on the streets or elsewhere have these clinics been used this year. Neither are health records consulted, though these are already on file in the ward building.

Several cases came under our observation of children neither mentally nor physically fit for the strain of street work. One is an epileptic with a long history known to medical and social workers; another a puny boy of eleven, whose history is "difficult feeding in infancy and delayed development; subject to convulsions, seizures; diseased tonsils; bad posture; malnutrition; possibly chorea; living in a manner not proper as regards hygiene and diet."

It is just as important to know a child entering employment is sound in body and mind as to know he is not. The Commissioner of Labor states in *Bulletin No. 4*, issued June, 1920, and re-affirms the statement in April, 1922: "Although the law provides for physical examination of children desiring work permits—there is no provision of law authorizing school boards to expend money in payment of physicians' services. The Board may legally hire and pay for services of dentists and nurses but in case of physicians are directed to hire under the provision of the child labor law but they have no authority to pay for services. As a result there is practically no compliance with this requirement of the child labor law."

### Social Status of Parents

The popular idea that newsboys support widowed mothers is not true to fact in Iowa or elsewhere. The majority have both parents living; they do not stay in street work for a great length of time, and their earnings are all too meager to contribute materially to the support of a family. Studies in other states show similar percentages. Of 167 street sellers in Des Moines, the social status of their parents follows:

Both parents living.....	83%
Mother only living .....	9%
Father only living .....	6%
Both parents dead.....	1%
Unknown.....	1%

Sixteen per cent belong to families receiving some form of social or relief service; 1.2 per cent receive mothers' pensions, and 14 per cent are known to the Juvenile Court.

### Length of Career and Earnings

A boy's life as a street seller ranges from three days to three years, and unless he continues in some form of newspaper business, seldom exceeds two years. In Des Moines, one boy, now fifteen years of age, has been selling for nearly 10 years. He makes \$4.00 a week for 6 days of 4 hours each and \$3.00 on Sundays for 3½ hours. He is the capitalist among his associates. Out of 22

boys, 21 average 30 cents a day; out of 34 selling on a given night in March, 2 made 15 cents; 1, 21 cents; 9, 25 cents; 11, 18 cents; 7, 45 cents. The night was favorable and sales went well.

The following table indicates the share of the sale price accruing to the newsboy:

<i>City</i>	<i>Number of Dailies</i>	<i>Sale Price</i>	<i>Boy's Share</i>
Des Moines.....	2	\$ .02	\$ .01
Des Moines.....	1	.01	.005
Sunday Edition.....	1	.10	.03
Davenport.....	2	.05	.0175
Out-of-town.....	---	.10	.03
Cedar Rapids.....	2	.02	.01
Out-of-town.....	---	.05 and .10	.03
Mason City.....	1	.05	.03
Out-of-town.....	---	.10	.03

Regular sellers count on making large profits on special occasions, such as elections. Unfortunately large numbers who do not sell any other time, without permits, crowd into streets favorable for sales, and thus deprive regular sellers of profits they should have. Violations of night hours are most common on Saturdays, when the Sunday morning editions with larger money returns are ready for street sales by eight or nine o'clock.

Reliable information is not available as to what use is made of even small earnings, and could not be secured without visits to the homes of a large number of workers. Certain it is that in many cases they are used for spending money in no way directed by parents or any one else. One night an officer kept track of ten boys, the total number selling downtown that night, and found that eight went to movies before they went home.

In 1916 Anna L. Burdick made a study of public school children under 16 years, engaged in the sale and distribution of papers in Des Moines. Her report, published in *Vocational Guidance Bulletin No. 2*, is based on the record of 535 boys. She says: "The greater



number engaged in street trading are 12 years and under. About 75 per cent of the boys are serious about their work. The money they make is over-estimated. The least earnings are five and ten cents per day—the average 30 to 40 cents. Four high school boys earn \$1.10 for their daily sales."

Carriers usually realize larger profits than sellers. Three papers in Des Moines and one in Davenport require carriers to collect from all subscribers on their routes and pay on an average \$15.00 a month, depending on distances, length of routes, number of papers, or collections. The time required averages three hours daily, except Sunday, and an additional three or four hours on Saturday for collections. Other Davenport carriers realize from \$6.00 to \$10.00 a month and carfare, and Cedar Rapids carriers from \$7.00 to \$10.00 a month.

### **Neglect of Carriers**

According to the law, sellers and carriers are required to secure badges and do, except in Des Moines. The middle of March, two hundred and twelve 1922 badges had been issued to downtown sellers in Des Moines, and an average of 150 boys were on the streets every evening except Sunday. At the same time the three dailies reported 573 carriers distributing to subscribers before and after school. The issuing officer and the Attendance Department had no record or knowledge of these carriers. Davenport had issued three hundred and eighty 1922 badges to sellers and carriers; Cedar Rapids 275 and Mason City 102. Invariably the four cities neglect their responsibility for carriers, who often rise early, work long hours, go great distances and carry heavy loads. It is true they work largely in residential districts and do not always go down town for their bundles; that many come from so-called better homes and their parents, perfectly willing for them to have routes, would not permit them to sell on downtown streets. Nevertheless the life of a carrier may be very difficult, especially in cities where early morning papers, either local or out-of-town, are distributed to subscribers at an early hour.

We saw two boys in the State Training School from two very excellent families in the state. Influences which led to their commitment first came into their lives after they began to deliver early morning papers. They got up by an alarm at 4 o'clock, and walked fully a mile for their 100 papers, which

weighed at least 24 pounds. Bottles of milk were the first things they stole and more serious offenses followed.

A paper in Des Moines insures delivery by 6 o'clock in the morning the year round. One hundred ninety-seven boys set alarms at any time between 4 and 5 o'clock; go to designated corners in their neighborhoods where a street car or truck has left the papers; deliver them to subscribers; hurry back home for breakfast; then off to school. These same boys and twenty-one others distribute the evening edition immediately after school, between 3.30 and 6.30 o'clock, and unless delayed are home for the evening meal. The maximum number distributed by one boy for one evening paper is 120, and they weigh 15 pounds by actual weight; for another evening paper, 180, which weighed 45 pounds; for another 225 papers weighing 84½ pounds. Granted they have fairly regular meals, as most do, carriers often begin work at 4.30 or 5 o'clock in the morning, attend school, carry again after dismissal and reach home between 6 and 7 o'clock at night. Not one will admit he retires early.

One carrier, age 12, with a route of 14 blocks, leaves home at 5 o'clock, delivers 81 papers in an hour and a half, and after school delivers 87 papers in two hours. During a blizzard last winter he waited for his evening papers until 7.30 only to find they had been sent east instead of west on 18th Street. One morning at 8.30 a boy who had got up by his alarm at 4.30 was still waiting for his papers to arrive, missing school rather than disappoint his patrons.

Again quoting from Anna L. Burdick's study: "36 boys at ..... School reported hours as follows: nineteen were out after 6 P.M.; eight before 6 A.M.; three until 9 P.M.; one (who was six years old) from 4 A.M. to 7 P.M., except during school hours; two from 4.30 A.M. to 7 P.M.; two from 6 A.M. to 7 P.M.; thirty worked in the morning; 353 in the evening; 104 both morning and evening."

### **Lack of Supervision**

Nowhere is there friendly supervision after badges are issued and only very limited contact with the boys in their homes and natural groups. An effort of rather superficial character intended to provide activities for newsboys as a whole, does not meet the

needs of street workers in small cities, where boys are never a comparatively great distance from their own homes.

For instance: Boys in Des Moines selling downtown have little or nothing in common as boy citizens; they do not and should not group together naturally on the basis of their work. The largest number are Jewish; many, Italian; a few, Negroes and the others so-called Americans. About two-thirds are of immigrant families. On the basis of natural grouping as to nationality, religion and race, the Jews, Italians, and Negroes are well organized for religious, social, educational and recreational activities. Every Jewish family is intimately known to the Federation of Jewish Social Agencies, which in various departments stands ready to protect and develop the individual interest of every Jewish newsboy. The Italians have three community centers and the Negroes have three, developing and encouraging recreation and education, each for his own group.

Boys selling on downtown streets should be carefully supervised by some one not primarily interested in the number of sales. They should not find it easy to remain downtown when through with their work, but should go immediately to their homes. If these are not fit places for them, it is the responsibility of the community to see that they are made so, not only for the newsboys but for their brothers and sisters as well. Fully two-thirds of the street sellers in Des Moines come from good homes, and there is no reason why they should linger away from them. Attendance officers are nowhere utilizing or directing possible supervision by volunteer agencies, such as boys' clubs. Spasmodic voluntary effort undirected by trained and competent supervisors is apt to be detrimental rather than beneficial to the boys, their families and the community.

### **School Records of 167 Sellers and 70 Carriers**

Out of the 212 boys "badged" for street selling in Des Moines, we secured school records for 167, through the courtesy of their principals and teachers. Information on file in the Attendance Department was cheerfully placed at our disposal. It is restricted to name, age, residence, parent, height, weight, number of the badge and distinguishing mark. All records of attendance, scholarship and physical examinations are kept in the offices of the boys' principals. Since carriers are not "badged," no list is kept in the



Attendance Department. Each newspaper keeps an up-to-date list of its own carriers, and two or three principals keep track of those enrolled in their buildings. In order to get an idea of the school record of a few of the 573 carriers, we asked principals in different sections of the city to furnish information for those enrolled in their buildings. As a result they made available records for 70 boys distributing papers in residential districts in different parts of the city, which may be considered fairly representative of the 573 total.

Charts 1 and 2 tell the story of sellers and carriers in percentages as to age, grade, attendance and retardation. In estimating retardation, a variation of one year might well be allowed, because ages are recorded in terms of years as 8, 10, etc., rather than date of birth; and because grades are recorded in terms of numbers only, as 7, 8, etc., rather than 7B, 7A, 8B, 8A. If a child begins school at six or seven and takes one year to a grade, he will normally reach the 8th grade at thirteen or fourteen. On this basis, used in many city schools, we computed retardation.

From Anna L. Burdick's report we again quote: "Of the total (535), 12 per cent were reported as failing; of the 104 who work both morning and evening, 50 per cent showed either over age or retardation."

CHART No. 1

*Record of 167 Des Moines street sellers for 130 school days (September, 1921 to March, 1922), as to age, grade, attendance, retardation, and promotion*

Age	Per Cent	Grade	Per Cent	Days Absent	Per Cent	Retardation	Per Cent	Promotion	Per Cent
10	3	2nd	1	Not any	13.7	Accelerated	33	Promoted during year	90
11	19	3rd	5	5 or less	35.2	Normal	25	Failed	10
12	33	4th	5	6 to 10	21.	Ungraded	1		
13	18	5th	20	11 to 15	11.4	Retarded: 1 yr.	19		
14	14	6th	27	16 to 20	5.	" 2 yrs.	12		
15	12	7th	25	21 to 25	7.2	" over 2 yrs.	10		
16	1	8th	9	26 and more	6.5				
		All others	8						

Of eleven sellers absent 26 or more days, seven missed more than 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  per cent of school.

CHART No. 2

*Record of 70 out of 573 Des Moines carriers for 130 school days (September, 1921 to March, 1922), as to age, grade, attendance, and retardation*

Age	Per Cent	Grade	Per Cent	Days Absent	Per Cent	Retardation	Per Cent
10	1.5	4th	1.5	Not any	18.5	Accelerated	43
11	11.5	5th	1.5	5 or less	28.6	Normal grade	36
12	23	6th	14	6 to 10	28.6	Retarded: 1 yr.	21
13	36	7th	42	11 to 15	10	Over 1 yr.	0
14	21	8th	41	16 to 20	4.3		
15	7	----	----	21 to 25	12		
				26 or more	3		

Of three carriers absent 26 or more days, one missed more than 34 per cent and two more than 22 per cent of school.

### Records of Delinquency

Out of 167 boys licensed for street selling in Des Moines, 14 per cent are known to the Juvenile Court. Chart 3 tells the story in percentages as to age, grade and retardation. Court records contain little or no information regarding their occupation unless it is directly related to their offense. Probation officers leave to the attendance officer all matters pertaining to street workers, taking responsibility only in case complaints are filed. The Court has but one probation officer available to make investigations and to supervise from 75 to 80 boys at a time. It is obviously impossible to give satisfactory probationary service to street workers under these circumstances.

CHART No. 3

*Fourteen per cent of 167 Des Moines sellers known to Juvenile Court as to age, grade, and retardation*

Age	Per Cent	Grade	Per Cent	Retardation	Per Cent
11	9.5	3rd	14	Accelerated	14
12	33	4th	5	Normal	14
13	24	5th	33	Retarded: 1 yr.	23
14	24	6th	14	" 2 yrs.	41
15	9.5	7th	19	Others	8
		All others	15		

Out of 349 boys in the State Training School, April, 1922, thirty, or 8.5 per cent, are street workers from Des Moines. Out of 227

under 16 years of age, 12.8 per cent are street workers from Des Moines. Chart 4 tells the story in percentages as to age, grade, retardation at time of commitment, and nature of the offense on which the commitment was made.

CHART No. 4

*Thirty Des Moines street workers in the State Training School for Boys, April, 1922, as to age, grade, and retardation at time of commitment and nature of offense*

Age	Per Cent	Grade	Per Cent	Retardation	Per Cent	Nature of Offense	Per Cent
10	10	2nd	3 $\frac{1}{3}$	Accelerated	6 $\frac{2}{3}$	Truancy	20
11	10	3rd	6 $\frac{2}{3}$	Normal	17	Stealing	20
12	20	4th	24	Retarded: 1 yr.	30	Ran away	20
13	6 $\frac{2}{3}$	5th	20	" 2 yrs.	13	Stay out nights	6
14	20	6th	20	" over 2 yrs.	33 $\frac{1}{3}$	Incorrigible	9.5
15	17	7th	16	-----	-----	Larceny	7
16	10	8th	10	-----	-----	Break and enter	6
Over	6 $\frac{2}{3}$	---	-----	-----	-----	Bad associations	4
						All others	7.5

Mrs. Burdick's study of Des Moines Juvenile Court records (1916) dealing with pupils up to 16 in attendance at the public school, showed

27 per cent came from the 5th grade  
 21 " " " " " 4th "  
 17 " " " " " 6th "  
 14 " " " " " 3rd "  
 21 " " " " " all other grades.

The ages of the juvenile offenders she found as follows:

21 per cent were 15 years of age  
 18 " " " 14 " " "  
 18 " " " 13 " " "  
 17 " " " 12 " " "  
 26 " " " between 12 and 8 years of age.

The nature of their offenses she grouped as follows:

45 per cent were due to larceny  
 25 " " " incorrigibility  
 14 " " " due to phases of dishonesty of deliberate criminal intent  
 16 " " " petty crime, growing out of gang activity



### Street Workers in the State Training School for Boys

We consulted records at the State Training School for Boys at Eldora, in order to determine to what extent the pupils there are recruited from boys engaged in street work. We hoped to confirm the popular idea that selling papers and other merchandise on the streets in small cities universally makes for manly qualities of character, thrift and industry. Through the courtesy of the Superintendent and his staff the record of previous occupations for 349 boys enrolled at the time of our visit were available, and personal histories of 116, or 33.2 per cent, who were formerly engaged in street work. Out of 227 boys under 16 years of age, 101, or 44.5 per cent, were street workers, and of these, 12.8 per cent belong to Des Moines. Chart 5 tells the story, to a slight degree, of somebody's neglect of young street workers in Iowa:

CHART No. 5

*Street workers in State Training School for Boys as to number enrolled, age, grade at time of commitment, and nature of offense*

Total Population			No. Street Workers		Percentage		
349			116		33.2		
Under 16 yrs.							
227			101		44.5		

Age	Per Cent	Grade	Per Cent	Nature of Offense	Per Cent	Nature of Offense	Per Cent
10	13	2nd	8	Stealing	24	Larceny	3.5
11	20	3rd	15	Truancy	20	Sleep out	2.2
12	17	4th	16	Ran away	11	Delinquency	2.3
13	12	5th	16	Incorrigible	10	Forgery	1
14	17	6th	16	Break and enter	8	Cigarette fiend	1
15	13	7th	12	On streets all night	7	Set fire	1
Over 15	8	8th	5	Bad association	4	Hold up	.5
		9th	6	Sex irregularities	4	Idleness	.5
		Below grade	2				
		Unknown	2				
		Out school 3 yrs.	2				

## CONCLUSIONS

Street work in Iowa constitutes no uncertain source of danger for young children allowed to engage in it without supervision. Children are not receiving protection which well regulated supervision makes possible. There is no way of measuring accurately how far influences of the street affect them unfavorably or what attitudes are created by street work. But the unquestionable fact that evil results are found in a number of cases in cities, large and small, is sufficient to justify such supervision as will protect all children, as far as possible, from detrimental influences. The spirit of Iowa's Commissioner of Labor is reflected in what he says in *Bulletin No. 4*, "Without purposely making work permit requirements too stringent as to be prohibitive, the prevailing idea is to protect the child in matters of health and education and to check as far as possible undue license in employment of children for the benefit of parents or employers."

Whether children enter street work temporarily as an adventure, or because they want spending money, which their families are either unwilling or unable to furnish, or whether they enter with an idea of permanency, they are too valuable as children and as potential citizens to turn loose on the streets without some one being responsible for them, who is primarily interested in them as children, not as money getters or sellers of merchandise.

Children licensed for street work are apparently neither laggards nor truants in large numbers, although 42 per cent of 167 sellers in Des Moines are retarded and 10 per cent failed to merit promotion. While 13.7 per cent of these same boys did not miss one out of 130 days of school, nearly 30 per cent were absent more than two weeks. School retardation among 70 carriers registers 21 per cent, and while 18.5 per cent did not miss one day of school, nearly 30 per cent missed more than two weeks.

Unquestionably there are sick children working who need the help which careful physical examinations and subsequent treatments would provide. There are children working who are *mentally* sick. As a rule they do not stay long in street work, because they are not able to get along with others and do not "stay put," as one hustler expressed it. Dull or retarded children never should be permitted to work on the streets, because they easily imitate what they see and hear.

There is significant relation between records of delinquency and retardation. Among street workers known to Juvenile Court, 72 per cent are retarded, and of Des Moines' street workers in the State Training School, 76% per cent are retarded. The age of these so-called offenders is pathetically young. The largest number of one age known to the court are but twelve, and those in the Training School were but twelve when committed. Whether boys known to juvenile courts and those committed to the State Training School work on the street because they are "bad," or are "bad" because they work on the street, it is imperative that our programs for regulation and supervision prevent those with tendencies toward delinquency from entering street trades, and protect all who are allowed to enter, from influences which make for delinquency. Out of 116 street workers in the State Training School, 60 per cent were committed because of stealing, truancy and running away.

Teachers, speaking of the characteristics of individual street workers, frequently use such terms as "listless," "unable to concentrate," "inattentive," "indifferent," "inaccurate," "crave excitement," and "restless." We know street workers are exposed to undue fatigue, to all kinds of weather without regard to health, to sights and sounds for which they have neither understanding nor power to resist. They have little opportunity to learn a trade, they spend their earnings as fancy dictates without direction or instruction, developing a demand for excitement, frequent change, and qualities not known as thrift. No one knows how many children work on the streets because of real economic necessity. We are confident the number is much smaller than the casual observer believes. In the four cities, the only group having accurate information on this point is the Jewish Federation of Des Moines, and a comparatively small percentage of Jewish street sellers there are urged through economic necessity. We are just as confident that no Iowan believes children's earnings can ever cure poverty, but are the beginning of poverty in the next generation.

Then, too, if eight hours is a desirable working day for men and women, how far can any city permit children eleven and younger—for many under eleven work with or without badges—to work four and five hours on the streets, plus five and six hours in school, every day school is in session.

We believe it is desirable to issue badges for street work only



as symbols of permits on file with the issuing officer; that permits, and subsequently badges, should be issued only with the consent and full understanding on the part of the child's parent or guardian, as to hazards of street work, its probable future, nature of the work in detail, character and purpose of those to be associated with the child, and what the probable effect may be on his school work, health and habits. We believe a report in writing should be required from the child's principal as to age, grade, attendance, scholarship, habits of application, the opinion of the principal and his unreserved approval of the child assuming additional work; that a complete up-to-date list of all street workers in his building should be furnished each principal; that a social history of the family be secured along with legal proof of the child's age; that as complete a physical and mental examination as possible be given every child, with authoritative certificates kept on file with the issuing officer.

Even after badges are issued on such basis of knowledge, a failure to furnish adequate supervision may be responsible for immeasurable harm to the young merchants. Some one is needed who shall be free to give all the time required to know each street worker personally—in his home life, his recreation, his school; to know how he spends his time, all details of his street work; to help him make such personal adjustments that all experiences connected with it shall become positive factors in his education. Such a supervisor may be a volunteer or a paid member of the attendance department, but without such supervision a program otherwise effective fails to give adequate protection to young children engaged in street work.

## BOOK REVIEWS

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INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF LABOR. David Hunter Miller. New York: Alfred Knopf.

The history of international labor relations is so amazingly short that a survey of what took place in the last generation gives a complete outline of its precedents. In this compact little volume David Miller, the legal adviser of the American Peace Commission, describes the progress made in international labor relations from the first Labor Conference in Berlin in 1890 to the Washington Conference in 1919.

The author traces in a concise and lucid manner the change which has occurred during that time in the governmental attitude toward such regulations: how, from an idea that they were far too novel even for diplomatic discussion in the first part of the nineteenth century, the attitude changed to a recognition by the Peace Conference of the right of labor for international protection. Thirty-three years after Bismarck's declaration that international protection of workmen was impossible and impracticable, an International Labor Magna Charta was incorporated in the Treaty of Versailles. The former tendency toward distrust and obstruction of labor regulations has given way to a tendency toward union, and the international labor movement, instead of being made a movement of hostile classes, has become one looking rather to the progress of humanity than to any group advantage.

The change in the attitude toward child labor, for example, is shown by a comparison of the proposals of the first "International" in Geneva in 1866 with those of the recent Washington Conference.

Mr. Miller emphasises the fact that the present status of international labor relations is bound up with the Labor Clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, which provides an international conference of the members of the League of Nations to meet at least once a year. Thus there is established a continuous international parliament of labor, which does not have final legislative power, but which has powers of unrestricted discussion.

Speaking of the constitutionality of the recent federal child labor law, the author points out that in Australia, under a constitution in this respect like our own, a very similar statute was declared unconstitutional by the High Court by a 3 to 2 vote.

He goes on to say, "If Congress, either under the taxing power or under some other power granted by the Constitution, can legislate on the subject of labor conditions in the United States, our own interstate problem of uniformity and progress will have found a solution, a solution, however, delayed under our constitution as long as the solution of the similar international problem which has confronted Europe for the century past.

"Indeed, in view of the constitutional difficulties regarding Federal legislation in the United States, to which I have alluded, it has been suggested that the treaty power of the United States would not extend such international labor legislation as is contemplated by the Labor Clauses of the Treaty of Versailles." Mr. Miller does not believe that this contention is well founded but its mere possibility makes the necessity of a constitutional amendment more imperative.

Anyone who has watched the slow struggles in the United States for state labor legislation will realize what the international adoption of minimum standards for conditions in industry would mean. And how much more difficult it is to regulate international labor conditions than merely to regulate those maintaining in forty-nine homogeneous states. Just as some of the southern states are the backward members of our federation in regard to social legislation, so India and Japan are the backward countries in international legislation; special consideration was given to them at the Washington Conference and must be given them in the future.

Such a study of the history of international regulations of labor clearly foreshadows the inevitability of future international legislation for child welfare. America will, of course, join in cooperating with the labor movement in other countries in that regard, even though she is not a member of the League of Nations.

J. D.

PENOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES. Louis N. Robinson, Ph.D. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

Dr. Robinson, formerly chief probation officer of the Philadelphia Municipal Court, has given us in his volume on Penology in the United States, a useful compilation of facts on past and present methods of handling criminals. There is little discussion of the changing theories involved in these methods, for Dr. Robinson feels that the evolution of the various means of punishment sufficiently illustrates the evolution of the theory. It seems to the present reviewer unfortunate that a volume designed for use as a text-book in colleges and law schools should not have devoted a little more space to the underlying philosophy of a field in which concrete accomplishment is so uneven. The bibliography, however, lists the standard sources of information for those who wish to study further.

Dr. Robinson traces the historical development of the county jail system, the workhouse, the state prison and reformatory, and other forms of punishment including flogging, fining, sterilization, and the use of the death sentence; and he discusses the question of prison labor, compensation of prisoners, probation, and parole. Not the least interesting chapter to the general public, for whose information the book is also designed, is that which deals with the management of institutions. For without good management the physical equipment of any institution counts for little. In the last chapter of the book certain next steps are outlined which, when taken, will go far toward bringing about the scientific treatment of the individual offender which is the dream of the



present-day penologist. They are: the socialization of the criminal court; the extension of probation; the establishment of institutions for special types of offenders; the elimination of jails or places of detention for sentenced prisoners; a flexible system of transfers among institutions; the abolition of the death sentence; and the renewed emphasis upon making the goal of prison administration the development of character.

M. B. E.

PARENTHOOD AND CHILD NURTURE. Edna Dean Baker, M.A. New York: Macmillan Company.

As stated on the jacket of this book, "This volume is written to show parents in how many important ways the discoveries of modern child study may aid them to understand their children better and make a surer success of their bringing-up."

It is a practical, readable and apparently accurate study of child life from birth until eleven years of age; one that any mother, whether she is versed in psychology or not, can read with profit and learn that a child's mind is not guided by adult-conceived principles of behavior.

G. P. W.

THE YOUNG INDUSTRIAL WORKER. M. Phillips. New York: Oxford University Press.

The relation of the Continuation School to the young industrial worker—its mission, function, curriculum, and problems are frankly treated by Miss Phillips, an English Continuation School teacher of six years' experience. The discussion is suggestive and constructive without being dogmatic, authoritative without being pedagogical. The author believes that the Continuation School offers the best corrective of the stunted and abnormal personalities which crude industrial conditions must inevitably produce. The book is made vivid with extracts from letters from her pupils and snatches of themes which are a revelation of the psychology of children in industry.

The lack of self-development of the young worker, the fact that he never knows solitude or has a room to himself at home, his crowd mentality, his aesthetic tastes set for him by the streets and houses in which he lives, makes the whole problem of training the individual in independence of thought a formidable task. The average Continuation School girl lives always in a crowd; she suffers torture if asked to enter a strange room in a factory without a companion or if obliged to walk home from work by herself. To combat this tendency, group work in the Continuation School is strongly advocated.

Social and aesthetic education are discussed with many suggestions as to the ways of stimulating interest and appreciation in the child whose mental instability, lassitude, and lack of concentration are a result of energy exhausted in work. The book is an interesting document in the progress toward an equalization of educational opportunity among all classes of society.

J. D.

